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The Renowned Sanskrit Poet of Medieval India

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N. N. Sarma

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PAṆḌITARĀJA JAGANNĀTHA

The Renowned Sanskrit Poet of Medieval India

N. N. SARMA

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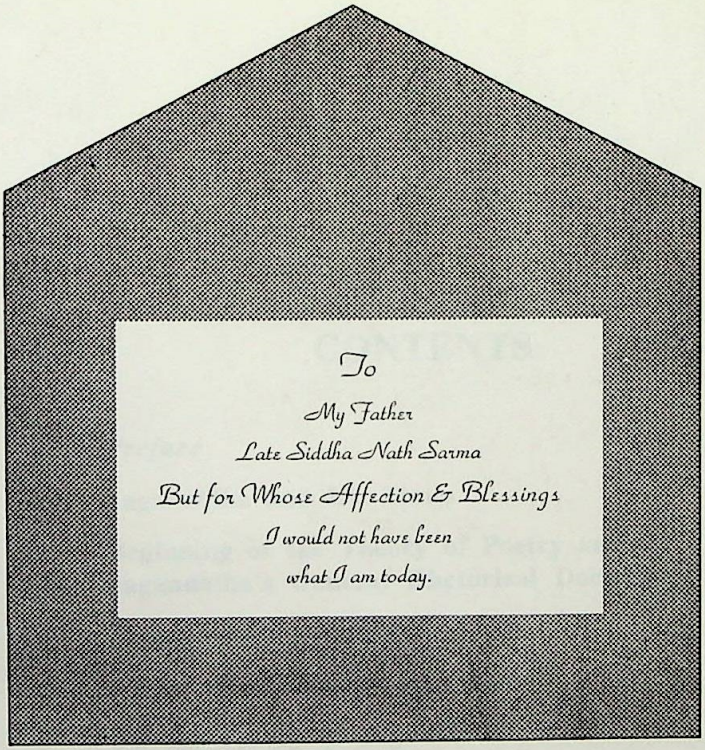

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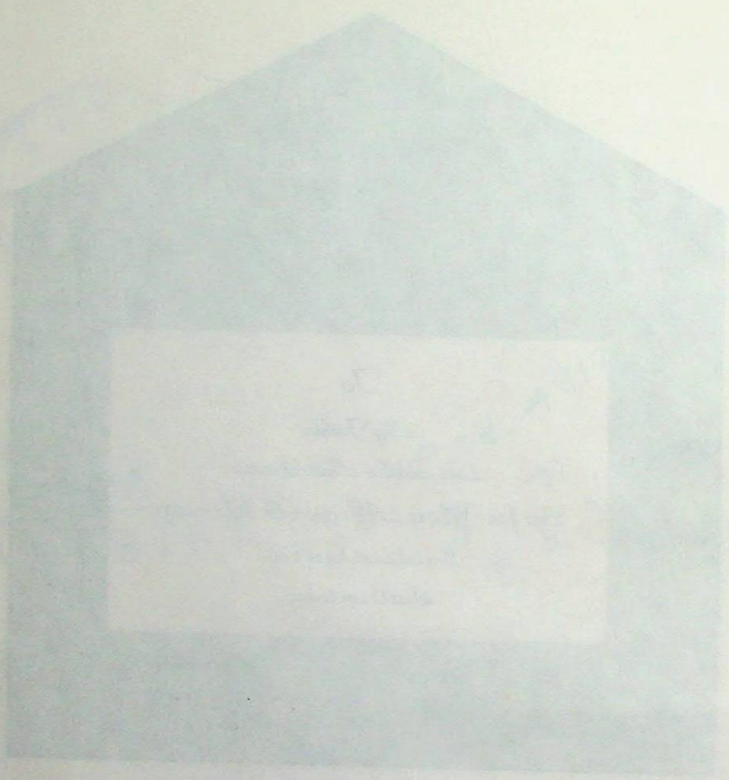

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PREFACE

Poetry as the verbal expression of the primitive music and occult incantation is one of the earliest activities of human race. In the early civilised society, metrical composition became the common vehicle for all inspired religious and secular experiences. Devotional prayers referring to cosmic matters and some philosophical matters were communicated by poetical forms. Indian poetry has a long tradition beginning from pre-historical hoary antiquity. The poetic tradition is traced to the Vedas. Though they are declared as the sacred revelation by the orthodox scholars, they represent the earliest phase of Indian poetry, since religion, science, literature and philosophy constitute an indivisible single whole knowledge. But it is a fact that the classical poetry dawned upon India with the appearance of the two classical Epics—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. They truly represent poetry in the proper sense of the term. But it is guessed on a rational ground that the popular phase of Indian poetry had existed even before the Epics which contained numerous ballads and episodes. They represented the earliest specimens of popular poetry. The ancient battle-songs and eepisodes formed the nucleus of the Epics. The Epics not only supplied themes for epics and dramas but also served as models to the subsequent poets in the formative periods of Classical Sanskrit Poetry. But the origin of popular secular poetry can be traced to the Prakrit and Sanskrit lyrics and the tradition of this phase of Indian poetry is still preserved in

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the later Śatakas. The court poets of the classical periods harmonised the epic and popular lyric elements in their poetical compositions and some poets eulogised their patron kings in their works. Thus Sanskrit Poetry reached the highest peak of success in the classical age, i.e., the Gupta Age when Kālidāsa the immortal poet of India flourished. This great literary tradition was carried forward in subsequent periods by the celebrated poets like Bhāravi, Māgha, Śrī Harsa and others. In modern period, there was a tremendous change in social and political condition of India. The prevailing conditions of the period were not at all congenial to inspire poets to write poetry in a sustained manner. So during this period poetic activity in India suffered a great setback for want of patronage. Those unfortunate poets who could receive no patronage still wrote Sanskrit poems and their compositions were mostly detached verses bearing the title muktakas, Kulakas, Śatakas, laharīs etc.

In the history of Sanskrit Literature we find many giant writers in whom there is a remarkable blending of creating genius with critical wisdom. Indian literary tradition does not consider poetical creation and aesthetic appreciation as two distinct faculties. They are independent aspects. But they are blended together in the mind of the talented poets. Vālmīki, the first poet in India, is, also, in a certain sense, an aesthete. Kālidāsa who is regarded as the greatest poet of India is also an aesthete in true sense of the term. But the harmonius blending of creative faculty with power of aesthetic judgement is noticeable in some eminent writers like Bhāmaha, Dandin, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and Rājaśekhara. Like Matthew Arnold, Goethe and Coleridge in the west, these literary masters were both poets and critics. In this galaxy of poet critics, Jagannatha occupies a formidable position by virtue of his creative imagination and critical faculty. Although he is a writer of the modern period, no attempt worth-mentioning has been so far made to make a thorough study of Panditaraja's life along with a proper estimate of the two faculties mentioned above. Of course, some attempts have been made in some editions of his Rasagangādhara and research papers to study his life and contribution to Indian Poetics. But these are merely

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cursory studies and there is no serious attempt to make a proper assessment of his poetry and his works on aesthetics. A critical study of such a master mind is a sacred task to be accomplished by the posterity since every student of Sanskrit Poetics is indebted to him. In the field of Sanskrit poetry his contribution is not properly estimated in comparison with the preceding lyrical poets like Amaru, Bhartrhari, Mayūra and others. Although these poets were more successful in their particular fields than Panditarāja, credit must be given to him for writing poetry in all aspects, viz., erotic, devotional and metaphysical covering a broader range of feelings and making a deeper appeal. His age no doubt synchronises with an appearance of other literary geniuses and scholars. But Jagannātha is unparallel in the field of Sanskrit poetry on account of his dynamism and versatile intellect. He sheds a new way of hope after a period of stagnancy in the literary field of India. In the sphere of Indian aesthetics his contribution has not been fully assessed only because he is a modern writer with a stigma attached to his name and doctrines of traditional poetics have been firmly established. It is true that the principles of Indian poetics originating in the hoary past from the sage Bharata have been interpreted by the stalwarts like Dandin, Abhinavagupta, Anandavardhana and Appaya Dīksita with scientific and logical accuracy. In spite of these facts we cannot underestimate the importance of Panditarāja Jagannātha who has tried to solve the old problems from a new angle of vision. He has appreciated good poems from the aesthetic point of view but not from a mere rhetorical one. He has done this with his power of close reasoning inspired by the subtle logic of the neo-logicians and he imported the technical language of Navya Nyaya for accurate expression. Panditarāja, a versatile scholar has based Indian aesthetics on the metaphysical foundation of the Vedanta philosophy and has done it ably with the help of technic of Navya Nyāya. His treatment of some of the poetic principles like rasa, guna and alamkāra exhibits the salient features of Indian aesthetics and adds new values to all of them. His new hypothesis of philosophical interpretation of emotions mentioned in the Bharata's sūtra and contribution of the gunas and alamkāras to accelerate

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the function of the power of suggestion which completes its task by removing the veil of the ultimate aesthetic pleasure is a novel one.

A Tailanga by birth, Panditarāja was brought up at Vārānasī, the centre of Sanskritic learning of India, by his father Perubhatta who was a reputed scholar almost in all branches of traditional learning. The author learnt from his father at the outset and became well-grounded in all branches of Sanskrit learning and particularly in grammar and different systems of philosophy. Such sound basis facilitated him in later periods of his life to prove himself as a first-rate literary critic. But the most striking feature of his genius is that creative faculty and the power of reasoning were blended together in him. Such a combination is rarely noticed in India and the synthesis of these two faculties along with his personality and versatile scholarship has contributed to his development as a literary giant in modern India. Being a poet of high calibre, he wrote on varied themes, though in erotic and metaphysical poems he excelled his contemporaries. He belonged to an age which was marked by the popularity of growing Hindi literature and by the supremacy of Persian language and literature under the royal patronage. Paṇḍitarāja had to compete to win the favour of his patron with Hindi and Persian poets and to restore the glory of Sanskrit poetry to the mind of the people since Sanskrit poetry lost popularity being deprived of royal patronage. His choice of erotic theme in Bhāminīvilāsa is due to his association with the Hindi poets of the Rīti school, such as Bihāri etc. The bitter experience of a few tragic events in his personal life might have changed the course of his thinking and ultimately he resorted to Bhakti or devotion which inspired him to write devotional poetry. He also made a modest attempt to write an Ākhyāyika but the Goddess of learning did not bless him with success. All these various aspects of literary life and the vicissitudes of personal life demand a comprehensive study of the poet showing the inter-relation of him with the contemporary great poets and savants of learning and his traditional ancestors.

The present volume, substantially based on the doctoral research of the author at the University of Calcutta, gives a critical estimate of

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Panditarāja both as a poet and critic. The work is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter gives a life-sketch of Jagannātha. Though a Sanskrit scholar, he has not left much untouched about his personal history. But he has made references in the introductory verses of the Rasagangādhara and stopped there. It is to be admitted that they do not throw sufficient light. We have, however, attempted to put the various available pieces of information into a single frame in order to get a complete biography though the main source of information is the internal evidences of his works. To understand a poet one must be acquainted with the social and cultural conditions of the times. The second part of the first chapter presents the social and cultural conditions of India in Panditarāja's times. The second chapter deals with the beginning with the principles of literary criticism in India and evaluates the contributions of the ancient rhetoricians beginning with Bharata. It also gives an idea of the basic background of the aesthetic doctrines of Jagannātha. The third chapter puts forward Panditarāja's own conception of rasa and its place in the principles of literary criticism in India. The fourth chapter discusses Jagannātha's conception of guna together with short history of the gradual development of the concept. The fifth chapter is devoted to Jagannātha's concept of Dhvani. The sixth chapter deals with his concept of alamkāra and here instead of dealing with innumerable figures of speech, an outline of his original approach has been sketched, showing his constructive and destructive criticism and his contribution to this chapter along with the specimen illustration. The seventh chapter attempts to clarify his ideas of poetic elements and styles. The eighth chapter which forms the concluding chapter of this work, makes a critical estimate of Panditaraja Jagannatha both as a critic and poet.

It has been my modest attempt to judge Jagannatha in his dual aspects, viz., (1) a critic and (2) a poet. While describing his personal life and discussing his literary contribution, I have followed a critical and comparative method and have tried to assess him from the view point of Indian poetics as propounded by him in his Rasagangādhara. The work traverses a virgin field of literary work and I claim originality

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in exposition of inter-relation of the principles of literary criticism and critical estimate of neglected great figures in Sanskrit literature. In the end I most humbly gratefully acknowledge my indebtness to scholars both eastern and western, the work of whom I had gone through with profit. A Bibliography of these works has been given at the end of the work.

It is my pleasant duty to express my gratitude to my revered teacher Dr. Janakiballabh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D., Research Guide under U.G.C. scheme attached to Sanskrit Department, Calcutta University who has guided me in the preparation of this work. But for his able guidance at every step it would have been impossible on my part to form a clear idea of the aesthetic principles of Jagannatha from his difficult exposition in his Rasagangadhara.

I shall fail in my duty if I do not mention the name of my erstwhile colleague Prof. Kuber Nath Roy, M.A., Sahityaratna, formerly Head of the Department of English, Nalbari College and now the Principal of Swamy Sahajananda Saraswati Degree College Ghazipur (U.P.) for his kind suggestions in the preparation of this work. It was actually Prof. Roy who threw some new light on the intricate topics of literary criticism by way of his valued advice and I was immensely benefitted by them. My words fail to express the magnitude of gratitude to him.

My wife Shrimati Charubala Devi took the entire burden of the management of my family obligations and duties on her shoulders and gave me scope of pursuing my studies undisturbed. This had not only facilitated me in the prosecution of my studies but also became my source of inspiration in the completion of the project. I am therefore indebted to her also.

I am also grateful to my numerous friends and well-wishers who encouraged me in various ways in the preparation of this work out of affection towards me. Finally I am thankful to Mittal Publications, New Delhi, who undertook publication of the book and produced it in so nice a way.

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JAGANNĀTHA AND HIS TIMES

LIFE OF JAGANNĀTHA

Introduction

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja occupies a prominent place in the literary history of India both as a critic and poet. He is the last great authority on Sanskrit Poetics, and as a poet also, he is equally famous. A great Kavi-Paṇḍita of his age, his writings show that he is also a gifted metaphysician and a great logician. In the Rasagaṅgādhara, he has given a long list of subjects that he studied under the able guidance of his father. He mentions two groups of subjects, namely Logic (Nyāya) and Grammar (Vyākaraṇa) a thorough grounding of which was regarded in that medieval age of frequent scholastic controversies, as an essential equipment for an ambitious scholar. Jagannātha's mastery on these subjects along with other important branches of learning contributed a lot in making him 'Paṇḍitarāja' in the true sense of the term.

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja enriches profusely with his own precious contributions in the sphere of poetry and the science of poetry both. He

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is widely known for his Rasagaṅgādhara, Bhāminīvilāsa and Gangālaharī. He is also the author of some minor poetical works and panegyrics. In the whole range of Sanskrit criticism, he occupies a unique position as a critic. His Rasagangādhara is an outstanding work of highest quality. Scholars have been given it the mead of highest praise and have universally acclaimed it to be the classic work on Sanskrit poetics. In the introductory verses of the Rasagaṅgādhara the author gives a clear idea about his originality and mental equipment. 'Diving deep in the troubled waters of the logical arguments and refutations, he has gained and exhibited to the highly cultured public-sahṛdaya, the Jewel of the Rasagaṅgādhara which is capable of illuminating the human mind and removing completely the pride of some of his rival rhetoricians[1]' Paṇḍitarāja the last great writer on Sanskrit Alaṁkāraśāstra, in his Rasagaṅgādhara, has expounded the theories of Rasa and Dhvani, which were first propounded respectively by sage Bharata and the great Kasmirian polyhistorian Ānandavardhana. He touches all topics of alaṁkāraśāstra and discusses them in clear and vigorous terms. Ancient rhetorical works were composed in verse and as such, the rhetoricians had no such advantage to their credit as Jagannātha had. He adopted the logical language of the neo-logicians of Bengal which enabled him to remove the slightest doubt in the exposition of the topics discussed by him. Again the different theories of the Sanskrit rhetoricians from Bharata to Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta were treated elaborately by different writers at different periods. These exponents were the supporters of different theories and they tried their best to establish their views by refuting the arguments of the opponents. Our Paṇḍitarāja had not to labour hard in establishing the theories of his predecessors. His task was only to clarify the issues which he supported. He showed the inconsistencies in the views of some of his predecessors and tried to remove them by his subtle arguments. So he says :

pariṣkurvantvārthānsahṛdayadhuriṇah katipaye
tathāpi kleśo me kathamapi gatārtho no bhavitā

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timīndrāḥ saṁkṣobham vidadhātu payodheḥ punarime
kimetenāyaso bhavati viphalo mandāragireḥ

(*Rasagangādhara*, Introductory verse 5)

Paṇḍitarāja had before him, a galaxy of poets who had already earned universal recognition at the hands of critics. He succeeded Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha, besides Vyāsa and Vālmiki. Thus he enjoyed the proud privilege of inheriting the great tradition of Sanskrit Kāvya which he utilised in illustrating the topics of Sanskrit poetics. Another noteworthy feature of Paṇḍitarāja was that he was also a poet of great creative ability and cited his own illustrations in his Rasagaṅgādhara. Thus, in him interpretative genius was blended with creative faculty and by this unique fusion he became a giant writer in the history of Sanskrit Poetics.

Mammaṭa is the pioneer for the standard work on alaṁkāra and his Kāvyaprakāśa is more or less a text book on alaṁkāra literature in which he discusses critically all the different views and concludes his work with a decisive view on its topics. It has won the position of an ideal text book. All his successors have followed Mammaṭa in the arrangement of the chapters of their works. The period after him was actually a stage of scholastic elaboration; the writers engaged themselves in detailed treatment and hair splitting distinction of the various concepts of alamkārasāstra instead of giving their independent views. To be more brief, it was an age of scholastic acumen and the writers tried to show their pedantry instead of originality. But the style of criticism adopted by Jagannātha was a novel one. He left the beaten track of the ancients and introduced for the fist time the Nyāya method of argument in the sphere of Sanskrit criticism which proved true safeguard against any undue omission or commission. As a result of this, alaṁkārasāstra becomes a difficult topic and ordinary scholars having no grounding in philosophy in general and Nyāya in particular can hardly have any entrance into it. Paṇḍitarāja hopes that his treatise would gain success in the field of alaṁkārasāstra for its excellence. He writes:

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mananataritīrṇavidyārṇavo Jagannāthapaṇḍitanarendraḥ/

rasagangādharanāmnīm karoti kutukenakāvyamīmāmsām//

(*Rasagangādhara*, Introductory verse 7)

In this work, an attempt has been made to appreciate Jagannātha from the aesthetic points of view. As he is a writer of great eminence, it is not possible to deal with all the aspects of Paṇḍitarāja. Our attempt will be confined only to assess him as a poet and critic. So we shall discuss here his life and time, background of his poetic conception and his conception of rasa, guṇa, dhvani and alaṁkāra. Next we shall try to comment on his Bhāminīvilāsa and other minor poetical works together with a critical estimate of him as a poet.

Jagannātha's Birth, His Parents and Education

Though comparatively a modern scholar, Jagannātha has not left for the posterity any regular biographical account. But this does not mean that we know nothing about his life. In his introductory verses of the Rasagaṅgādhara, he has given a sketch, though very brief, about his father and mother, father's education in different branches of learning, his own education and his lineage. This information together with the accounts gathered from the stray references to his life in his literature gives us a more or less connected sketch in biography, however incomplete it might be. Apart from the stray references, many oral traditions are current among the scholars of India about our Paṇḍitarāja. But these traditions have little historical value. They may be concoction of his rival critics and hence they are not based on facts. We shall try to give a short biographical account of him from the internal evidence of his work.

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, a Tailanga Brāhmaṇa[2], belonged to the Benginadu line of family in the Tlegu country. He was the son of Peru Bhaṭṭa or Perama Bhaṭṭa who was a versatile scholar whom Jagannātha referred as Mahāguru[3]. He was the disciple of Jñānendra Bhikṣu in Vedanta, of Maheśwara Paṇḍita in Nyāya and Vaiśesika, of Khaṇḍadeva in Pūrvamīmaṁsā and of Śeṣa in grammar; he is called Sarvavidyādhāna.[4] Nāgeśa says that Peru Bhaṭṭa had proficiency in other

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śāstras as well (vide, atena taditaraśāstravedādijnātrtvarh sūchitarh-Gurumarma Prakāśīka). Jagannātha learned at the feet of his father and of Śeṣa who was his father's guru. There is a controversy about Śeṣa. According to Nāgeśa, this Śeṣa and Śeṣa Vireśwara are one and the same person. He says, 'Śeṣa ityanka upanāma yasya tasmād Vireśwarapaṇḍitāt'. Dr. Aryendra Sharma[5] expresses doubt about this Śeṣa and considers him to be Śeṣa Śhrikṛṣṇa, the guru of Bhaṭṭojīdīkṣita who was contemporary of Paṇḍitarāja's father. But Jagannātha in his Manoramā Kucamardana mentions Śeṣa Vireśwara as his guru in clear term (vide, Hindi Rasagangādhara, Introduction p.d). So, there is little scope to doubt this Śeṣa to be Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. Moreover, there is nothing unconvincing in the same man being the teacher of both the father and the son. Our Paṇḍitarāja was a versatile scholar and he earned proficiency in the Vedas, Vedanta, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāmsā, Grammar, Literature and Aesthetics.

Many Jagannāthas

In the history of Sanskrit literature, many Jagannāthas are found and this has confounded scholars to mix Paṇḍitarāja with them. Our Paṇḍitarāja is very famous and his name at once brings to our mind the popular works like Rasagangādhara and Bhāminivilāsa. There are also other authors of the same name writing on a variety of subjects. Naturally doubt arises in our mind about the identity of these different authors on different subjects. Pandit Mathurānāth Śāstri in his Introduction to the Rasagaṅgādhara (pp. 48,49) has mentioned eleven Jagannāthas who are different from our Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha. He has also shown there how the editor of the Prāṇābharaṇa of the Kāvyamālā series had wrongly ascribed the three works namely Aśwaghāṭī, Ratimanmatha and Vasumatīpariṇaya to our Paṇḍitarāja. Even Dr. Aryendra Sharma[6] ascribes the following works to Paṇḍtarāja:

1. Kāvyaprakāśa tīkā
2. Sābdakaustubha sonottejana

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3. Ratimanmatha Nāṭaka
4. Vasumatīpariṇaya Nāṭaka
5. Allopaniṣad
6. Miscellaneous verses

Probably the learned Doctor was misled by the above-quoted Prāṇābharaṇa of Kāvyamālā series where the editor wrongly gave the authorship of Ratimanmatha Nāṭaka and Vasumatīpariṇaya to our Paṇḍitarāja. But G.V. Devasthali in his article 'Jagannātha alias Umānātha[7] has established beyond shadow of doubt that this Jagannātha was a resident of Tanjor and he was the author of Ratimanmatha Nāṭaka, Vasumatīpariṇaya Nāṭaka, Nityotsavanibandha and Aswaghāṭikāvya. As Devasthali puts it: 'Thus from the RM, we know that his name was Jagannātha and that he calls himself a Kavi. In N. on the other hand, we find him styling himself Paṇḍitavara. But the more important and interesting piece of information that we derive from this latter work is that Umānandanātha is the name which was received by J. after his iniation.[8]

Another Paṇḍitarāja, a commentator of Kāvya Prakāsh is also confused with Jagnnātha Paṇḍitarāja, the celebrated author of the Rasagaṅgādhara. But this commentator is a different man. According to Dr. De[9] he is identical with Raghunandana Raya, the disciple of the legist Maheśa Thākkura and hence he should not be confused with Jagannātha. The editor of the Rasagaṅgādhara of the Kāvyāmala series gives a long list of authors bearing the name Jagannātha. All of them are different persons and they should not be confused with our author.

Date of Jagannātha

The question of the date of Jagannātha does not present much difficulty. It can be approximately settled from the internal evidence of his work. He states in his Bhāmīnivilāsa (4/45) that he passed his youth at Moghul court. He has mentioned many times the king of Delhi without naming any particular emperor. There is no doubt that he was a court poet of Moghul emperor. But the problem is when and how he managed to enter into the court to get patronage to contribute to

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Sanskrit literature. In the Āsafvilāsa, Jagannātha writes that he received the title 'Paṇḍitarāja' through Nawab Āsaf Khān who helped him much in introducing him to the Moghul court. He was the brother of Nur Jāhān and father-in-law of Emperor Sāhjāhān. He is known to have died in 1641. Again in one of the verses of the Rasagaṅgādhara while discussing the Uttarālaṁkāra,[10] Jagannātha mentioned Nurudin. It is the forename of Emperor Jahangir, father of Sahjahan. He also eulogised Jagatsimha of Jaypur and Prāṇnārāyana of Kāmarūp in his two panegyrics, Jagadābharaṇa and Prāṇābharaṇa respectively. So it may be concluded that Jagannātha enjoyed the patronage of four rulers—Jahangir, Sahjahan, Jagatsimha and Prāṇnārāyaṇa. It is also probable that he was born in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued to contribute to Sanskrit literature as a court-poet of Delhi till the murder of unfortunate Moghul Prince Dara Shikoh in 1659.

Jagannātha is traditionally said to be a bitter critic of Appayadīkṣita and in his criticism, Paṇḍitarāja introduces an element of personal abuse which is something uncommon in the history of Sanskrit poetics. In his Citramīmāmsākhaṇḍana also, he severly attacks Appaya. Mm. P.V.Kane[11] informs us that a manuscript of Citramīmāmsākhaṇḍana is dated samvat 1709 (1652-53A.D.). Both the Rasagaṅgādhara and the Citramīmāmsākhaṇḍana are the products of his matured mind and are composed before 1650 A.D. and 1641A.D. From this Dr. Kane concludes that the literary activity of Jagannātha lies between 1620 and 1665 A.D.

Jagannātha is connected with the celebrated line of grammarians headed by Bhoṭṭoji Dīkṣita. He wrote the Monorāmākucamardana to refute the Praudhamonoramā commentary of Bhoṭṭoji Dīkṣita on the Siddhāntakaumudī to take revenge upon the latter. Dr. Kane[12] is of opinion that Bhoṭṭoji's literary activity falls between 1580 and 1630. Bhoṭṭoji was the disciple of Śeṣasrīkṛṣṇa, and Jagannātha and his father Perubhaṭṭa were the pupils of Śeṣavireśwara, son of Śeṣasrikṛṣṇa. Bhoṭṭoji must be one generation earlier than Paṇḍitarāja and so, his date

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falls somewhere in between the first and third quarter of the seventeenth century.

Other evidences in support of this date may also be cited. In the Kula Prabandha[13] it is stated that one Nārāyaṇa, a student of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja met his early death.

labdhvā vidyā nikhilāḥ Paṇḍitarāja Jagannāthāt/
nārāyaṇastu daived alpāyuḥ svapurimagāt//

Kulaprabandha is said to be written in the 17th century A.D. Again in the Subhāṣita hārāvāli of Hara Kavi,[14] there is a verse composed by our Paṇḍitarāja on Gangādhara. Nageśa in the very beginning of his Gurumarma Prakāśikā where he salutes Gangādhara writes:—

natvā gangādharaṁ marmaprakāsaṁ tanute guruṁ/
rasagangādharamaṇeriti gūḍhārthasaṁvide //

Most probably these two Gangadhāras are one and the same person. Nāgeśa wrote the commentary in the beginning of the eighteenth century. So Jagannātha must belong to the seventeenth century. Haribhāskara wrote his Vṛtta-ratnākara tīkā in 1672. In his Padyāmṛta Taranginī, two verses from Paṇḍitarāja are also included. It was composed in 1672. So Jagannātha must be earlier than this date. It is evident that he belonged to the seventeenth century A.D.

Centre of Activity

It has been said that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was a Tailanga Brāhmana. In some editions of the Bhāminīvilāsa he introduces himself as a scion of the Andhra Benginādu ancestry. Whatever may be the case, he was a southerner; but both his father and Jagannātha himself got education at Benaras. Though Telengana was their ancestral homeland, his father migrated to Benaras for study and settled there permanently. Jagannātha became a great scholar under the able guidance of his father. According to some tradition, Raja Jaysimgha of Jaipur heard the name of Paṇḍitarāja and he came to Benaras to seek help of our Paṇḍitarāja to defeat some Muslim scholars who entered into controversy with the

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king on some matter. This tradition may not be baseless; it has some grain of truth. Jagannātha enjoyed the patronage of Jaysingha of Jaipur for sometime and wrote the Jagādabharaṇa to praise the king. However Paṇḍitarāja's fame as a scholar spread far and wide and by virtue of his scholarship, he easily got introduced to emperor Shahjahan through the help of one Mukunda Ray, a scion of Māthura dynasty (cf, mūrtimatāiva navābasafakhānamānaḥ prasādena dvijakulasevāhevākincanmanahkāyena māthurakulasamudrtenādistena śrisārvabhaumasāhajahinaprasādādadhigata ... ...nirmeya, Āsafvilās). He also mentioned Nurudin which was a sanskritised form of Nuruddin meaning Jahangir. So Dr. Aryendra Sharma holds the view that Paṇḍitarāja enjoyed the patronisation of four kings. He writes[15] — 'It is clear from the internal evidence that Paṇḍitarāja lived at the courts of four rulers — Jahangir, Jagatsimgha, Shahjahan and Prāṇnārayaṇa. Jahangir reigned from 1605 to 1627 and Shahjahan succeeded him in 1628. He reigned for about 30 years. His death in 1656, was followed by a war of succession. Prāṇnārāyaṇa reigned from 1633 to 1666, except for a short break of two years (1659 to 1661) when he had to flee to Bhutan to escape capture at the hands of Mirjumala, Governor of Bengal. In all likelihood, therefore, Paṇḍitarāja spent the first few years of his literary activity at the court of Jahangir. After his death in 1627 all was not well at Agra and Paṇḍitarāja probably migrated to Udaipur (court or Jagatsinṁgha). There would be otherwise no occasion for him to write an eulogy on Jagatsiṅgha'. Probably he did not remain in the court of Jagatsiṅgha for a long time. When Shahjahan ascended the throne in 1628, he again returned to Moghul court and enjoyed the full patronage of Shahjahan. That was the most flourishing period in Paṇḍitarāja's life. Abdul Hamid Lahuri, the court historian of Shahjahan tells us that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was the poet-laureate of the Emperor who used to listen to his composition and bestow upon him royal gifts and favour.[16] After the death of Shahjahan the war of succession began among the sons of the emperor and the Moghul court was no longer a congenial place for literary activity. So he migrated to the court of

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Prāṇnārāyaṇa, a feudatory of the Moghul Emperor at Cooch Behar. Mm. P.V. Kane[17] also is of opinion that Jagannātha migrated to Assam during the time of fratricidal war between the sons of Shahjahan. But Prāṇnārāyaṇa, himself had to go to Bhutan at the invasion of Mirjumala and as such, our Paṇḍitarāja also had to leave his court ere long. In the court of Prāṇanārāyaṇa, Jagannātha wrote his 'Praṇabharaṇa' to satisfy his patron.

There are internal evidences to show that the last part of Paṇḍitarāja's life was not very happy . Giving up his all desires, he spent the last part of his life at Mathura (vide Bhāmīnivilāsa, 4/45 ed. by Radhesyam Misra). But Pandit Mathuranath[18] Sastri quotes a different reading of the above-quoted verse which gives Benaras as the place where Paṇḍitarāja passed his last days. Dr. Aryendra Sharma believes that Benaras rather than Mathura is the place where Jagannātha spent his last days. As he writes — "That Paṇḍitarāja spent his last days at Benaras rather than at Mathura is not only supported by tradition but would seem probable, because it is hardly likely that he would return to the vicinity of Agra where the political condition was still unsettled. There is enough evidence to show that his father had his education and lived at Benaras. Paṇḍitarāja also must have spent his boyhood days there and it would only be natural for him to return to Benaras which was more or less his home rather than to Mathura".[19] But there is no ground to suppose that he would stay at Benaras and not at Mathura in the last part of his life due to chaotic political condition there. He had already lost his position among the scholars of Benaras due to his entrance in the Moghul court or for his alleged liason with Lavangi. To avoid the orthodox society at Benaras he would naturally go to Agra leaving that city. In his Amṛtalaharī (verse 3) the poet earnestly desires to spend his last days living on fruits of trees. Morever his Śāntavilāsa bears ample testimony to show that Paṇḍitarāja was a great devotee of Lord Kṛṣṇa, and Mathurā, Brindāvana and the Jamunā are closely connected with the name of Lord Kṛṣṇa Naturally Paṇḍitarāja would pass his last days at Mathura rather than at Benaras

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where he was condemned by the orthodox society. Again Dr. Sharma's contention[20] that Benaras would be a proper place to inspire him to write Manoramākucamardinī than Mathura is without any warrant. There is no cogent reason to believe that for proper incentive to write works on Grammer he would go to Benaras after his retirement as a court poet Mathura would equally be a proper place to inspire him for such books, to counteract agressively to the jealous criticism coming from his hostile critics. So we may safely conclude that Paṇḍitarāja at the last stage of life, retired to the bank of Jamuna at Mathura and passed a secluded life completely devoting himself to Lord Kṛṣṇa.

Jagannātha and Appayadīkṣita

While writing about the date of Paṇḍitarāja we have had the occasion to state that both Appaya and Paṇḍitarāja were contemporary for some years. But Appayadīkṣita was older than Paṇḍitarāja. Both of them belonged to the south and they knew personally each other. But Paṇḍitarāja was a bitter critic of Appaya and in his criticism, he introduced an element of personal abuse. He applied uncivil and sarcastic epithets like drāviḍaśiromaṇi, drāviḍapungava, balivarda, lambakarna etc. in case of Appaya which were something uncommon in the literary history.[21] In his Cirtramīmāmsākhaṇḍaṇa he threw an open challenge to enter into polemics with him if somebody wanted to defend the case of Appaya:

Sūkṣaṁ Vibhāvya mayāka samudiritanāmappa–
dīkṣitakṛtāviha dusaṇānām/
nirmtasaro yadi samuddharanaṁ vidaadhyattasya-
hamnjjvalamatescaranaṁ vahāmi

(Quoted by P. Chaturvedi in his RG, Introduction, p,O)

Sāhityācharyya Shri Madhusudona Sastri[22] is of opinion that Paṇḍitarāja had no personal enmity against Appayadīkṣita. Jagannātha was a very proud scholar; he refuted the views of Appaya and this does not mean that the former had any personal grudge against the latter. That was a difference of opinion. He also attacked vehemently

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Ruyyaka, Vimarṣinikāra, Sobhākaramitra and Mammaṭa. But against this view, it may be said that the spirals of attack on Appaya were so much out of decorum and almost abusive that their sting betrays something personal rather than literary. The verbal pungency of Jagannātha's pen leaves little room to assume anything innocently humorous in this matter.

There are many traditions about Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. Those traditions have been rejected by the scholars as baseless for want of historical evidences. As Mm. P.V. Kane puts it: 'The story about Jagannātha's liason with a Yavana damsel called Lavangi (in such verses as Yavananavanita etc) appears to be a myth spread by those who were offended by the biting tongue (rather pen) of Jagannātha. Similarly, the story that old Appaya met Jagannātha at Benaras and addressed to him the verse (which occurs in Rasag, p.421 kim niśankaṁ....etc) is without any warrant as Appaya never left south India in his old age (Gode Vol.II, p.460ff)'.[23]

But Purusottam Chaturvedi quotes another verse from 'Nalacarita' of Bālakavi, the grandson of Appayadīkṣita, who was also a contemporary of Jagannātha. The verse throws a light on the life of Appayadīkṣita and Paṇḍitarāja. It runs as follows:

yastuṁ viśwajitā yatā paridharaṁ sarve budhā nirjtā
bhaṭṭojipramukhāḥ, sa paṇḍitajagannāthopi nistārita
pūrve'rdhe, carame dwiśaptatitamasya'bdasya sadviśwajit,
dyāyi jaśca cidambare svamabhajjyotih satām paśyatām 11
(Hindi RG, Introduction, p. pa)

which means that at the age of 72, Appaya, with a view to performing the Viśwajit, travelled the whole world and scholars like Bhoṭṭojidīkṣita and others including Jagannātha too, were defeated. At the end of this, he attained self-light (ātmajyoti) in the presence of learned scholars after performing the Viśwajit sacrifice. From this it is clear that Appaya, Bhoṭṭoji and Jagannātha were contemporary, though, of course, Paṇḍitarāja was younger in age. He was excommunicated by the orthodox scholars of the time on account of his touch with the Moghul

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court. Most probably at the last part of his life, Paṇḍitarāja became very repentant for his past actions and Appaya met him at Benaras in his old age before his death.

Jagannātha's Family Life

Like other Sanskrit poets, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja has not left much about his personal life. So we know very little about his private life. However, a few facts can be gathered from his writings. While mentioning his father as 'mahāguru' he speaks highly of scholarship and training at whose glances even stones shed nectar.[24] Lakshmī was the name of his mother. Jagannātha earned proficiency in all branches of learning under the able guidance of his father. He was a versatile genius and in no time he earned mastery over all ´sāstras. The prolific nature of his works supports this view. Probably, he was the pet son of his father and he enjoyed much indulgence from him and perhaps due to this over-indulgence, he became very whimsical in his later life. But he was not disobedient to his parents. His love and respect for them were in tact though he was a proud youth. It was through the grace of his father that he became a great scholar in spite of his conceited nature which betrays at times the absence of due humility. He passed the greater parts of his life at the royal courts of many rulers. In his Bhāminīvilāsa, he says that he had passed his youth in Moghul court. He was the poet-laureate of Shahjahan and was bestowed upon him liberal gifts and royal honour.[25] He lived a life full of rich material comforts and was happy with himself being in full enjoyment of all pleasures, physical, emotional and intellectual that a gifted man of his type might cherish having honoured position in the Royal Court.

Like Rajāśekhara, Paṇḍitarāja had his partner in life who was a beautiful lady. He lost her prematurely and at her sad demise, his heart was broken. This lady was not only his beloved wife but also was the source of poetic inspiration in his life. The poet bewails her death in the following verse:

dhṛtvā padaskhalanabhītivaśāt karaṁ me
yā rudhyavatyasi śilāśakalaṁ vibāhe

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sā māṁ vihāya kathamadya vilāsini! dyā -
marohasiti hṛdayaṁ śatadhā prayāti..

(Bāminivilāsa, 3/5)

The death of his beloved wife created a vacuum in life and nothing could fill it up. He lost all charms in life; it became dull and intolerable. The love that has been depicted in Karuṇavilāsa can be well compared with the ideal conjugal love depicted by Bhavabhūti in the Uttaracarita.[26]

Shri Madhusudan Sastri[27] conjectures from a verse from the Bhāminīvilāsa (4/33) that Jagannātha bemoans the death of his son. The same verse has been cited by the writer to illustrate Pratyanika alaṁkāra in the Rasagangādhara. Paṇḍit Purusottam Chaturvedi[28] considers that the verse under question does not support the premature death of Jagannāth's son. This verse, according to the scholar, misleads the people. Had it been written at the loss of his son, the verse would have been included in the Karuṇavilāsa. Therefore, for want of any definite proof we cannot be sure of the authenticity of this fact. But the last days of Jagannātha appear to be not very happy. The scholars of Benaras cut off their relation with him on account of his association with the Moghul court; he was made virtually an out-caste. At the death of Shahjahan, his patron king, he lost the royal patronage also. So suddenly from an affluent condition he was brought to a reversal of fortune. All these events brought out a tremendous change in his thoughts. He was awaken as it were from stupor and began to look at the life in a different perspective. He took religion as the ultimate and unfailing solace to life and became a devotee of Hari. So he writes in Śāntavilāsa -

apāre samsāre viṣamaviṣayāraṇyasaranau
mama bhrāmambhrāmaṁ Vigalitavirāmajaṛamateḥ/
pariśrāntasyayantaraṇitatanaya tīranilayaḥ
samantāt santapaṁ harinavatamālastirayatu//

(Verse 7)

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Jagannātha's Religion

To understand the personal religion of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, we should know the background of the religious life in India in his times. India is by nature receptive; she assimilates whatever is good and is always alert to know the nature of truth without caring for the barrier of caste, creed and religion. As a result of this, in the medieval period there was a fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures and both the communities came closer to each other by the policy of give and take. The Hindus learnt from the Muslims whatever was good in their religion and the Muslims tried to know the innermost truth as revealed in the Hindu scriptures. As a result of the mixture of the religions, many Hindus became the disciples of Muslim saints and many Muslims also accepted Hindu saints as gurus. Their aim was to know the truth through the path of sādhanā. They did not care for external superstition and religious fanaticism. The Sufi Saints made tremendous contribution in bringing unity between the two communities. Though it is controversial to be definite and definitive about whether Sufism borrowed from Hindu Vedānta philosophy or vice versa, still there is undeniably much common between the two philosophies. In some of its doctrinal features, Sufism has a close resemblance to Vedānta philosophy. It preaches the idea of one godhead and universal brotherhood among the people.

Thus the sixteenth century witnessed a great religious upheavel in India. This goes down as Bhakti movement in the history of religion in India. During this period a galaxy of saints were born and they preached the cult of Bhakti among the people. According to this new cult, loving devotion to God is the summum bonun of life and in devotion there is no distinction of caste or community. As a result of their preaching, both the Hindu and the Muslims came closer to each other and learnt to live in perfect harmony with an understanding of the essential unity of Hinduism and Islam. Among the preachers of the medieval age, Kabir and Nanak were also the supporters of this radical harmony. In Bengal, Chaitanya and other Vaiṣṇava preachers popularised the cult of Bhakti through Kiṙtan. Dādu and Sundardās insisted in the oneness of the ultimate reality and taught people to look

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at the humanity as their brethren. Therefore, the Bhakti movement brought a tremendous change in the religious outlook of the Indian people and instead of hatred and distrust, Hindus and Muslims learnt to respect each other's religion and lived in a spirit of amity and harmony.

Born in an age of religious toleration, Jagannātha was carried away by the spirit of the age. He was a Vaiṣṇava in his faith and accepted Viṣṇu as his iṣṭadevatā who is the Highest God and One God. This shows the 'abheda' nature of the poet. Though Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa was his iṣṭdevatā he had equal regards for other gods of Hindu pantheon. Obviously, he was the upholder of Bhāgavatadharma and that particular verse of the Bhāgavata where Lord says that in whatever form one worships Him, He is pleased with him, guided his mind. So to such a devotee like him, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva or Parmātmaṅ would be equal. Thus he exalted all of them in this verse of his Śāntavilāsa :

sevāyāṁ yadi sābhilāsamasi re! lakshmīpaṭiḥsevyataāṁ

cintāyamāsi sasprhaṁ yadi tadā cakrāyudhascintyatāṁ
ālāpaṁ yadi vāncasi smarariporgāthā tadā'lapyatāṁ
svāpaṁ vāncasi cennirargalasukhe cetastadā supyataāṁ//

(Verse 20)

That is why Paṇḍitarāja had fervent devotion to Viṣṇu; but he was not a bigoted Vaiṣṇava. His respects for other Gods and goddesses like the Mother Ganges, Lakshmi, Yamunā and the Sun can be well supported by the various 'laharīs' written by him. He was, therefore, like Kālidasa, a Vedāntin and believer of one Divinity. He did not care for royal fortune, nor did he fear the god of death, but he wished that his mind would not deviate from the path of Dharma.[29] In fact, the poet gives impression that the religion that he professed was one that came to him by heritage and he observed it as an established code of life which generally atheist does not. In the midst of suffering and misery of life he did not lose faith in God. Rather even amidst plenty and riches when the mundane allurements deviated him every moment, he sought the help of Hari to remove the pangs of his life (vide, Bhāminivilāsa,

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4/7). From his writing it becomes clear that Paṇḍitarāja had predilection for Hari. He believed in the principle the Bhāgavata where the Lord declared Himself as the Highest God. But he was not sectarian in view. He was a product of his time as well as of Vedantic and liberal Bhakti traditions which found an embodiment in his personality. So whatever V. R. Ramachandra Diksitar spoke about Kālidāsa can be fittingly applied to our Paṇḍitarāja also — 'whatever may be the predilection of the poet for a particular deity, the fact remains that he was a Vedantin to the core. As a Vedantin he makes no difference between this god and the other. . . He was quite tolerant in his outlook and looked upon humanity as a whole as the children of God'.[30]

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF HIS LITERATURE

Contemporary Society of Jagannātha

The age of Jagannātha was most prolific in literary production in India. During this period, a galaxy of scholars was born and they contributed much for the literary development. These scholars upheld the cause of Sanskrit and in every sphere, whether in literature or philosophy or theology or in grammar, they enriched the stock of Saṇskrit learning by their valuable contributions. The most notable contribution of his age was in the field of Navyanyāya. The dialectical method of Ṇavyanyāya was the advantageously applied in that controversial age. In the field of literature also this age made immense contributions. Though the literature produced in this age was not first-rate like that of Kālidāsa or of Bhavabhūti, still considering the environment, it has considerable importance and aesthetic value. To appreciate Jagannatha, we must be acquainted with the literary celebrities of his age, because the contemporary literary activity directly or indirectly exercises influence upon the mind of a writer and literature reflects contemporary society and culture. Literary works are not mere products of imagination or the whims of somebody. They are the embodiment of human feelings and thoughts derived through the progressive march of history. It is to be admitted that Jagannātha's contemporary scholars did not exercise any direct influence upon him.

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But the social environments urged him to write. As Dr. S. N. Das Gupta puts it —'It is indeed true that an individual poet, though he may belong to his age, may have his own peculiarity of temperament and interest by which he may somewhat transcend the age. But such transcendence cannot altogether change the character of his mind which is a product of his society.' (History of Sanskrit Literature, Introduction, p. Lvii).

From the ancient times, Benaras has been the centre of learning. During the time of our Paṇḍitarāja also, it was the centre of Indian intellectual life. His father Perubhaṭṭa and Paṇḍitarāja himself had their education at Benaras. His father's teacher in Mīmāmsa philosophy was Khaṇḍadeva who was also an author of many works on Pūrvamimāmsa.

Like Benaras, Navadvīp in West Bengal was also the centre of intellectual life, and students from all sides came here to study Navyānyāya under able teachers. Jagadish-tartkālaṅkār, a great Naiyāyika hailed from Bengal. He is the author of the monumental work, Tarkāmṛta. According to V.A. Ramaswami Sastri[31], a manuscript of his Tarkāmṛta is dated 1631 and from this, it is concluded that he belonged to the seventeenth century. Another famous scholar belonging to the Sanskrit School of Navadvip was Gādadharabhaṭṭa who hailed from East Bengal. He was an author of many independent treatises and he wrote many commentaries among which Tatvachintāmani was very famous. A manuscript of the Vyutpattivāda gives 1625 as its date; so he flourished in the former half of the seventeenth century.[32] One of the foremost Naiyāyikas of Jagannāth's time was Viswanātha Nyāyapancānana, the author of the Bhāṣa-pariccheda, a popular work in Nyāya philosophy. Though he was a Bangalee, his centre of activity was Benaras. He also wrote his own commentary Siddhāntamuktāvalī on Bhāṣāpariccheda.

During the time of Jagannātha Paṇḍitaraja many scholars on Pāṇinian system of grammar flourished and they made solid contribution in the field of grammar. The most celebrated of those scholars was Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. He was the disciple of Śeṣakṛṣṇa in grammar and of Appayadīkṣita in Vedanta. Besides his

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Advaitatattvakaustava, he also wrote Sabdakaustuva, Siddhāntakaumudi and Prandhamonoramā, a critical commentary on the Siddhāntakaumudi. Here he criticised his own guru Śeṣa-Śrikṛṣna, the author of Prakriyāprakāśa, thereby rousing the wrath of Paṇḍitarāja who took revenge upon him in his Monoramākuca-mardana. Another celebrity during that period in the field of grammar was Jṅānendra Saraswatī. He wrote his commentary Tattabodhinī on Ṣiddhantakaumudī. He was a close contemporary of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.[33] Nilakantha Vājapeyī another disciple of Jṅānendra Saraswati wrote the commentary Sukhabodhinī on the Siddhāntakaumudī.

From the South also came a host of scholars who wrote on various subjects. Among those scholars mention may be made of Nilakantha Dikṣita who was both a poet and critic. 'He lived in the middle of the 16th century near Canjeevaram and was the grandson of the brother of Appayadīkṣita'.[34] The great scholars who were contemporary of Nilakantha Diksita were Rāja-Cūḍāmani Dīkṣita, Bhāskara Dīkṣita, Kumāra-tātāchāryya, the author of Pārijata nātaka, Cokkanātha Makhim and the great poet Venkatesvara, the author of the māha-kāvya, Ramcandrodaya.[35]

Another junior contemporary of Jagannātha from the south was Rāmbhadra Dīkṣita, the author of the drama Jānaki-pariṇaya. He was the son-in-law and disciple of Cokkanatha Makhim. In his Śṛngāratilakabhāṇa, he says that he was the disciple of Nilakantha Dīkṣita also.[36] A senior contemporary of Paṇḍitarāja from Malabar in the south was Nārāyana Bhaṭṭapāda who had more than a dozen of books to his credit. He became so famous for his poetic genius that he secured high position at the court of king Deva-nārāyana. He was both a poet and a scholar in one like our Paṇḍitarāja. Dr. Das Gupta[37] mentions seventeen works of this scholar. Of these, the Nārāyanīya and Mānameyodaya are very famous.

Kavi Chandra Saraswati, like Paṇḍitarāja, was another court-poet of Shahjahan. He was personally known to him. He is said to have successfully led a deputation of Brahman scholars to Shahjahan to press

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him to withdraw Hindu pilgrim tax at Benaras and Prayag. He was a celebrated writer of his age and wrote on a variety of subjects. Among his works, Monoram ākhaṇḍana, K āśikāsaṁgraha and Kavīndrakalpadruma were very famous. The last mentioned work was composed in praise of Shahjahan who was the patron of the poet. He also wrote a Hindi commentary on the Yogavāśiṣṭha for the use of Darashikoh. In recognition of his scholarship Shahjahan conferred upon him too the title 'Sarvavidyānidāna'.

Another ālāṁkārika of considerable importance contemporaneous to Jagannātha was Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa. He was the author of the Rasa-Pradīpa which was composed by the author at the age of nineteen in 1583.[38] Prabhakara belonged to the last quarter of the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century. His Laghu-Saptaśatika-Stotra, an epitome of the Devī-māhātmya was written in 1629 A.D.[39]

From Bengal came Madhusudan Saraswati, the great Advaita Vedantin. His monumental work Advaitasiddhi bespeaks of his scholastic erudition and nyāya dialectical acumen and it earned him a name in the history of Advaita-vedanta. Besides the Advaitasiddhi, he is also an author of many commentaries and lyrics. While lyrics show his merit as a poet, his Bhaktirasāyaṇa establishes him both a bhakta and a critic. V.A.Ramaswami assigns him seventeenth century as his date as a younger contemporary of Jagannāth.[40] But in my humble opinion he appears to be senior contemporary of our poet. M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj assumes that Madhusudan belonged to sixteenth century and this he fixed on the basis of date transcription of MS of his 'Siddhāntabindu'.[41]

Religious Condition

In India, synthesis has played the most important role in her religion and culture. Whatever is good and beautiful, is assimilated in Indian culture by the cementing force of synthesis and that is why there is unity in diversity in India and Indian culture. It is for this spirit that our culture has been enshrined without being wiped away by the alien relationship. Our culture has stood always for synthesis and so from

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time immemorial, India being tolerant for foreign art and culture, has accommodated them in the same fold.

In early medieval age, India had seen an outburst in the field of religion and society. A new form of religion was founded based on the cult of Bhakti, and several saints preached this new faith among the masses of India. One noteworthy feature of this movement was it was based on the cult of Bhakti and so emphasis was laid on the unity of Godhead and equality of man. During this period many sects of the Vaiṣṇavas came into existence. Among them Shrīsampradāya of Rāmānuja, the followers of Chaitanya, the Pustimargis and the followers of Ramanand exercised highest influence.[42]

Śrīsampradāya of Ramanuja was the upholder of Viśiṣṭadvaita Philosophy. Among the people of this sect the worship of Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa was prescribed. Many temples of this sect were built and the upholders of this sect preached their faith both in the south and the north. The Chaitanya-Sampradāya formed the second largest group of Vaisnavas which laid emphasis on emotional devotion. Rūp Goswami, Jīva Goswami and Sanātan Goswami and other Gaudia Vaiṣṇavas propagated the doctrine of this sect. One interesting point in this connection is that these preachers were also scholars and they composed many books in Sanskrit and Bengali.

Puṣṭimārgis are another important school of Bhakti cult. The followers of Vallabhāchārya belonged to this school of Vaiṣṇavism. According to this sect worship of the idol of Lord Kṛṣna is the supreme duty of the devotees. The great Hindi poet Surdās and Mirābai of Rajasthan were the followers of Puṣṭimarga.'Devotional songs of Mirabai and Surdas acted as a balm on the bruished hearts of the people and hundreds and thousands of people forgot the day's troubles singing of the Lord at evening assemblies where songs of Mira and Surdas were recited. This brought them spiritual solace and inculcated a spirit of surrender to the will and grace of God'.[43]

The followers of Rāmānanda formed another sect of Vaiṣṇavas. They are known as Nirguṇiyas. Of the twelve disciples of Rāmānanda,

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Kabir is most widely known. The saints of this school composed devotional hymns in the language of the common people giving stress in the cult of Bhakti. Dadu, Malukdas, Sundaradas — all these saints of the sixteenth century belonged to this group.

The Muslim counterparts of Hindu saints were the Sufis. They were highly impressed by the doctrine of Bhakti and Vedanta. Some of these saints adopted Hindu mode of life and took even Hindu names. Akbar's conciliatory policy towards the Hindus was another instance of his religious toleration. He gave full freedom of religious worship and propagation of views to all creeds and communities and abolished all religious restrictions and taxes which interfered with it. Akbar's grandson, Darashikoh devoted himself to the noble task of reconciling Hinduism and Islam. He was a learned scholar. He read the Hindu scriptures and translated many Sanskrit books into Persian. He translated the Rāmāyaṇa, the Gītā and the Yogavāśistha. The Upaniṣads were translated by him under the title Sirr-UL-Akbar or the 'great secret'. He stated in the preface to the work that he became a disciple while at Kasmir, of a great Sufi called Mutta Shah and studied a lot about Sufism. His labour was in vain; sufism could not give him the peace of mind he was earnestly seeking for. This, however, he obtained from the study of the Vedas and Upaniṣads.[44]

Bishop John A. Subham[45] informs us that Dara also wrote another book entitled Majmail Bahrayan meaning 'meeting of two seas'. This was written by him to show that there is essential unity between Hindu and Mu 'm mysticism. It is for this book that Dara had to lose his life at the hand of his jealous brother, Aurangazeb who declared him a heretic.

Hindu-Muslim Relation

From the standpoint of national integration, the sixteenth century is very important. The noteworthy feature of this development was the emergent of a spirit of fellow-feeling and mutual respect and goodwill between the Hindus and the Muslims in place of hatred and distrust. The saints of the sixteenth century viz., Kabir, Nanak, Dadu, Chaitanya and

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others did a lot to bridge the gulf between these two leading communities. They not only took disciples from both the communities but also tried to establish perfect harmony by showing unity of all religions. In one of his dohās, Kabir wrote[46] —

dui jagadish kahan se aye, kahu kaune bhramayee
Alla Ram, Karima-keso, harihazrat nam dharaya

'O friend who has deluded you in the belief that there are two Lords of the Universe? There is only a difference in name, Allah or Rama, Karim or Keshava, Hari or Hazrat (i.e. Lord) are only different names of the same Divinity.'

The sufi saints also tried to preach the oneness of the Ultimate Reality. Some of them were highly impressed with Bhakti cult and Hindu Vedanta Philosophy. Even they took Hindu names and lived like Hindu devotees. 'The great saints advocating sufism such as Nizammuddin Aulia, Fariduddin Shakarganja, Karim Shah, Inyat Shah Kalandar were either initiated to religious life by Hindu saints or themselves initiated a large number of Hindus to religious life; as a consequence, Hinduism or Mohammadanism as a creed mattered little to them.'[47] In fact, many Muslim devotees took Hindu saints as their gurus and vice versa, and as a result of this many saints were worshipped by both the communities. As a matter of fact, both the creeds, namely, Hinduism and Mohammadanism got intermixed and Indian culture became a joint culture of these two creeds. Akbar's religious policy created proper atmosphere of mutual love and toleration among the Hindus and the Muslims. He founded a new religion Din-I-Ilahi where tenets from Hinduism and Mohammadanism were incorporated. He allowed Hindus full religious freedom and as such, Hindus, Jains, Parsees etc. were satisfied with his policy. Thus they became the servants and supporters of his empire. Jahangir and Shahjahan also had not any inborn hatred towards Hindus. Both the emperors allowed their subjects to live in peace and harmony and had soft corner of Hinduism. Like Akbar, Shahjahan appointed Hindus in high post and observed Hindu festivals. He bestowed liberal patronage on Hindu pundits in his court and abolished pilgrim tax, after being

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pressed by a deputation of Hindu scholars. But in the reign of Aurangzeb, this cosmopolitan condition underwent a total change.

Muslim Patronge and Sanskrit Literature

The Moghul rule under Akbar not only established peace and sense of security in the mind of the Hindus, but also gave chances for an unprecedented growth of Sanskrit learning. Although Sanskrit books continued to be written, Sanskrit literature did not develop virtually after 1200 A.D. Due to depresssing political and cultural conditions arisen out of the establishment of the sultanate of Delhi, Hindu mind could not make any noteworthy contribution in the field of Sanskrit. But from the sixteenth century circumstances changed and proper atmosphere for artistic creation in the field of literature and art was created. So suddenly there was an outburst of Sanskrit learning and side by side with Sanskrit, Hindi poetry also made a sudden development. This was possible only because many Moghul emperors were great patrons of learning and fine arts, and they patronised Sanskrit culture and learning. Their courts were adorned with Sanskrit scholars and poets of high magnitude. They got all sorts of patronage from the royal court. The emperors not only extended monetary help to the Sanskrit scholars but also took personal interest in translating Sanskrit works into Persian or Arabic. This had a healthy influence in the mind of the Hindu nobles and chiefs and they also followed the same set of examples. Consequently, Sanskrit flourished and Muslim scholars also were drawn to the fountain head of Sanskrit culture. Among the Muslim rulers, Akbar was a great lover of Hindu culture. During his reign, there was a great revival of ancinet learning. His liberal religious policy coupled with his zeal for the propagation of education and culture, urged him to give encouragement for writing books on various subjects. Inspired by noble ideals, he established a Translation Department and got many books in Sanskrit rendered into Persian so that Hindus and Muslims came to know each other's religion and culture. So many Hindu classics were translated under his patronage. The Mahābhārata was translated into Persian by the joint effort of Naqub Khan, Abdul Qadir Badayuni and Shaikh Sultan under the title

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Razm-name.[48] The same batches of scholars also translated the Rāmāyaṇa into Persian. Other outstanding works translated under the patronage of the emperor were the Līlāvatī, Harivaṁśa and Panchatantra. Himself a lover of poetry, Akbar listened to the poems of his court poets. He also joined in the discussions on theology with the learned scholars. Jahangir and Shahjahan also extended liberal help to the sanskrit scholars. The latter was the patron of our Paṇḍitarāja who was his poet-laureate. Another reputed Sanskrit scholar of his time Kavindra Acharya Saraswati also was patronised by him. Darashikoh's love for Sanskrit and Hindu philosophy is well known in history. He translated many books from Sanskrit into Persian. The Rāmāyaṇa, the Gītā, the Upaniṣads and the Yogavāsisthas were translated by him. According to Dr. J. B. Choudhury[49] Dara got much encouragement in his Sanskrit studies from his maternal uncle—Shayasta Khan who was a learned scholar in Sanskrit. The same scholar informs us that Shayasta Khan used to compose verses in Sanskrit and six of these sloaks are quoted in Chaturbhuja's Rasa-Kalpadruma which is not yet published.

Dara was not only Sanskrit scholar, he was also a great patron of scholars. He patronised a large number of Brahmin scholars of Benaras. In the prefaces[50] of his monumental work, Sirrul-Akbar, he says that by reading the Vedas and the Upaniṣads he got solace which he could not get by studying sufism under the sufi saints. Another book written by him which is worth-mentioning is Majma-ul-Bahrain. It is a valuable work on technical terms of Hindu pantheon and their equivalents in Sufism.

Thus during the Moghul rule, great impetus was given to Sanskritic learning. During this period many books from Sanskrit were translated into Persian and original books were also written under royal patronage. The scholars getting patronage from the royal court made tremendous contribution in Sanskrit poetry, philosophy, theology and astronomy. But during the days of Aurangzeb, the policy changed and there was a great set-back to Sanskritic studies.

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Hindi Literature

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries form the classical age of Hindi Literature. A large number of celebrated writers flourished during their period. The peace and tranquillity of the glorious reign of Akbar and freedom of thought coupled with his ptronage to art and literature, stimulated a great outburst of literary activity and his reign became the golden age of Hindi poetry. Many great writers of the country belonged to this period and they produced remarkable poetical works which became monumental in the history of Hindi literature. Tulsi Das and Sur Das were the brightest stars in the firmament of the literary history of India. They were contemporaries of Akbar and Tulsi's period of literary activity almost coincided with Akbar's reign.[51] Tulsi Das is credited with twenty five works. Among these, his Ramcharitamanas is the most famous. The most important Hindi poet of the period was Sur Das. He was attached to Akbar's court and was popularly known as the 'blind bord of Agra'.[52] According to some critics, he was even greater than Tulsi Das. Besides them, many other Hindi poets adorned Akbar's court. Some Muslim poets also took to write in Hindi and enriched Hindi by writing poetry in Hindi. Akbar's patronage in this respect is well known. He is known to have written a few detached verses in Hindi under the name Akbar Ray. They were probably written by Tan Sen, the court musician of Akbar in the emperor's name. Among the Muslim poets, who interpreted Hindu culture successfully Abdur Rahim Khan Khana deserves to be named first. He is the author of several hundred dohās and these are very famous for their literary merit. He was equally a great scholar in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Another Muslim poet in Hindi was Raskhan who was a devotee of Krishna. He wrote a large number of poems depicting the life of Lord Krishna. Other court poets of Akbar worth the name are Birbal, Raja Man Singh, Bhagavan Das, Narahari, etc.

The most important feature of this age was that the literary activity was not confined to royal court alone. It was a movement of the mass people and a large number of Hindi poets flourished in the countryside. They were equally patronised by the landlords and rich public. Poetry,

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to touch the hearts of the millions, must be written in a language intelligible to them. So the writers of the age took Hindi as the medium of their writing and thus literary movement became a mass movement which made the age as the golden period of Hindi poetry.

This goldern period of Hindi poetry continued in the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan also. They partonised poets and scholars. The literature that was created in their reigns under their patronage reflected the taste of these rulers.

Jahangir and Shahjahan had no territorial ambition. They surrendered themselves to the full pleasures of life. So they loved and patronised that poetry where there was the reflection of their lives. So 'bardic poetry of the borderland chivalry and religious poetry of fervent devotion which had been for six hundred years the source of inspiration to Hindi poets, were suddenly given a good bye'.[53]

There are other factors which are responsible for the change of ideal in Hindi literature. The note of fervent prayer and surrender found in the poetry of Sur, Tulsi and Mirabai was no longer there. It gave way only to lust and sensuous thoughts. They had exhausted all the possibilities of poetic art in the devotional form and later poets had nothing new to say about the ideal and philosophy of life. So they turned their attention to the mere forms of poetry. They devoted themselves to the technical and rhetorical side of poetry. So their poetry showed their power of versification and ornamentation on such themes which were actually the subject matter of alaṁkārasāstra.

Among the poets of this school, Keshava stands predominant. Besides his 'Rasika Priyā' and 'Kavi Priyā', he has also written other works. His Jehangir Jaschandrikā, Ratan Bawani, Ram Chandrikā and Vijñāna Gita are famous in the history of Hindi literature. While the former two books are on the line of Bardic poetry, the other two belong to Bhakti cult.

Another poet who holds supreme place in Hindi literature was Bihari. His pioneer work Satsai was written at the encouragement of King Jai Sing of Rajasthan. The poet himself says in the concluding couplet of his Satsai -

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hukuma pai Jaisahi kan, Hari-radhika-prasada
Kari Bihari Satsai bhan atnek sabad.

(Satsai, ed. by Ganapati Gupta)

'At the command of his Highness Jai Sah, Bihari composed this interesting Satsai through the grace of Radha-Kriṣṇa'.

Bihari is the only Hindi poet who has earned reputation by writing only 726 couplets. The rhetorical style gets its climax at the hand of Bihari. K. B. Jindal[54] has compared Bihari with Pope in English literature. Both took couplet as the mode of poetic expression.

Thus under the stress of contemporary circumstances, Hindi literature made a tremendous development in Jagannātha's times. Many prominent Hindi poets flourished in the age and they made notable contributions to Hindi lterature. Their poetic impulses were flowing in various channels and poetry, both in devotional and secular aspects showed a marked development in varied forms. The devotional literature of the time exerted great influence upon the common people. It inculcated religious spirit in them. The secular poetry was based on the doctrines of Sanskrit poetics and was marked by sensuousness. Poets generally showed their tendency in using short verses of lyrical structure and their poetry emphasized rhetorical graces. One interesting feature of these poets is that they were scholars in Sanskrit poetics and so we find in their works a remarkable blending of poetry with scholarship. Contemporary Hindi poetry exerted a great influence upon the mind of Jagannātha and inspired him to write Sanskrit poetry on the same line. But the devotional poetry of the time could not exercise such influence upon him as the secular literature did. In his devotionalism, Paṇḍitarāja followed Śankaracharya, Mayūra and other Sanskrit stotra writers instead of Hindi devotional poets. But the secular Hindi poetry of the time inspired him to write and there is definite proof that the Satsai of Bihari was a source of inspiration to him for his erotic poetry. Bihari was a very famous Hindi poet. His dohās were very popular among the elites and common people both during Jagannātha's time for their amazing pointedness and rare excellences. Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja read those dohās and they left an

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indeliable mark on his mind. He was urged to write on the same model and thus some of his verses bear striking parallel with the dohās of Bihari. As illustration, we cannot but cite some instances here:

kaiśore vayaṣi krameṇa tanutāmāyāti tanvāstanā
vāgaminyakhilaśvare ratipatau tatkālamasyājñayā
āsye pūrṇaśaśānkatā nayanayostādatmyamanbhorūhām
kimcāsidamṛtasya bhedavigāmaḥ śācismite tātvikaḥ !!

(Bhāminīvilāsa, 2.64)

This verse bears a close parallel to the dohās of Bihāri:
chuti na sisuta ki jalak, jalakyi yovanu anga !
dipati deha duhun mili dipati taphata-ranga !!

(Satsai p.20)

apane anga ke jani kai jovana-nrpati pravin !
stana, mana, naina, nitamba ki badi ijapha kin !!

(Satsai p.6)

The following verse of Jagannātha is quite similar with the dohās of Bihari -

nīlānacalena saṁvṛtamānanamābhāti hariṇanayanāyāḥ
pratibimita eva yamunāgabhiranīrantarenānkhaḥ

(Bhāminīvilāsa, p.2.128)

Thus we get sometimes striking points of resemblance between the poetry of Jagannātha and that of Bihāri. Both of them were contemporaries and Paṇḍitarāja lived for few days in the Rajasthan court too, where Bihari was residing. So a direct or indirect contact is not an impossibility. Still we feel that a softer and more convincing view would be that both Jagannātha and Bihari are the products of the same tradition and the same 'millieu' and both exist to each other less as borrower and more as the co-sharer of the same literary tradition of the past coming on one hand from the romantic vernacular tradition of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa and on the other hand Alaṁkara school of the classical Sanskrit. There is a direct and continuous link among Hāla, Govardhanāchāryya, Hemchandra and Bihari not only from the view-point of form but also of content. Bihari's dohās which possess some

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of the formalities of Bhakti school by way of reference to Radha and Krisna, do not betrary any conspicuous influence of Ujjvala Nilamaṇi and its Nāyikābheda. Bihāri borrows this matter, that is, mannerism and Nāyikābheda from the secular traditions of Daśarūpaka and Sāhitya Darpaṇa and above all Kāmasūtra of Vātsayana. The whole of Rīti-poetry of Hindi is an engrafting of the romantic folk traditions of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa on secular dramaturgical and Alaṁkara poetry of Sanskrit. All these point are equally true for Jagannātha too. He too is a product of the same tradition which is a combined product of four factors (1) Prakrit and Sanskrit erotic poetry,(2) Stotra literature, (3) Kāmasūtra and (4) Alaṁkāra Sāhitya of Sanskrit. That is why there is a lot which he appears to share with Bihari or any other contemporary Hindi poet.

In this concern we are to take note of not only the common literary tradition coming from the past, but also of the 'millieu'of the age which both the poets were taking breath in. It was the age of courtly atmosphere, 'the art and artifice', the formalism and luxury of mannerism and style. Not only in Sanskrit poetry of Jagannātha or Hindi poetry of Keshavadsa, Jaswant Singh and Bihari, but in the other branches of fine arts too, this emphasis on 'artifice' formalism and mannerism can be clarly noted. Moghul and Rajput painting betrays a lavish liking for ornamentation and colours. Thus the period of seventeenth and eighteenth centruries was permeated with the millieu of artifice and mannerism which is summed up in the word 'Rīti' in the context of Hindi literature. No writer could escape the sharing of these forces operating in the high-brow society of the age. Bihāri and Jagannātha both lived in the thick of that society. So it is natural that they would feel similar thoughts, emotion or impulses arising out of the common literary fashions of their age. So it would be appropriate to conclude that what has happened in the context of the poetry of Bihāri and Jagannātha is not the result of the influence of one upon another, but rather of common sharing of the same past 'tradition' and same contemnorary 'millieu;.

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51. K.B. Jindal, *A History of Hindi Literature*, P. 156.
52. A.L. Shrivastava, *The Mogul Empire*, p. 241.
53. K.B. Jindal, *History of Hindi Literature*, p. 159.
54. *History of Hindi Literature*. p. 172.

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TWO

BEGINNING OF THE THEORY OF POETRY AND JAGANNATHA'S GENERAL RHETORICAL DOCTRINES

Beginning of the Theory of Poetry

Poetry is one of the earliest aesthetic activities of the human race. In the primitive society, it was identical with literature as a whole and was the common vehicle of human knowledge. But these works were not poetry in the true sense of the term. It was a kind of heightened form of speech as distinguished from the ordinary speech. 'This heightening is shown by formal structure—metre, rhyme, alliteration, lines of equal syllabic length, regular stress par quantity assonance-devices that distinguish it from ordinary speech and give it a mysterious, perhaps magical emphasis. There are repetitions, metaphors and antitheses which because of their formality, we regard as essentially poetic.[1] In Sanskrit literary criticism also, Kavya is that form of literature which is the artistic creation of a poet and not a book contributing to knowledge or Science. Thus Kavya is the artisitc creation of a poet and generally those writings which give primarily

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pleasure to the readers irrespective of their formal structures will be called Kavya in the proper sense of the term. 'It is the characteristic quality which poetry shares with its sister arts, the quality of giving pleasure— the aesthetic pleasure; that is, pleasure which arises neither from as consciousness or right conduct nor from an expectation of material profit; but which consists in a sense of enjoyment that is purely self-sufficing and disinterested'.[2]

India has a long and varied poetic tradition which begins with the Ṛgveda itself. Though primarily, it is a book of fervent prayers, it also contains much which is poetic. Many of the hymns show fine specimen of poetry and among them, those addressed to the goddess Uṣas are the best example.[3] In the later stage, the two epics of Vyasa and Vālmīki lead us to the dawn of secular poetry. Vālmīki is regarded as the Ādikavi (first poet); it is he who first indicated to the world the ideal on which Indian poetry should be based. But purely secular poetry also existed written in the form of Sanskrit and Prākrit Lyrics most of which are now lost. Hāla's Gāthāsaptaśatī is the gold mine of secular lyric poetry and unsophisticated love is the main theme of it. The same type of literature was produced in Sanskrit also and this can be inferred by the stray quotations included in Patañjali's Mahābhaṣya and Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra out the floating material of the time[4]. Side by side with the popular poetry of these types, the court poets of India cultivated a highly artificial type of poetry. It was written in polished style with the clear purpose of giving aesthetic relish to the readers. Thus by the sixth and seventh century AD, sufficient poetical literature secular in character grew and the growth of this type of literature led to the investigation into the rhetorical rules which culminated in criticism or exercise of judgment of literature.

Tracing the earlier phase of literature in the Vedas themselves, MM Kuppuswami Sastri[5] has held the view that the Vedic seers were unconsciously critics too and in support of his view he quotes the following verse:

'uta twat paśyanna dadarśa vācamuta tvaḥ śṛnvanna śṛṇotyenam'
uta tasmai tanwaṁ visastre jāyeva patyu uśatī suvāsaḥ.

VIII, II.23.4

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which means that Muse reveals herself to him who understands her. Here the Vedic seer praises the critic with appreciative faculty and the critics only can understand the merit of a literary composition.

Coming to the epics, we find that Valmīki was not only the first poet, but he was also the first critic. The creative faculty of a poet and the appreciative faculty of a critics were harmoniously blended in him. He describes the origin of the Rāmāyaṇa in the following verse:

padabaddhokṣarasamaḥ tantrilayasamanvitaḥ /
śokārtasya pravṛtto me śloko bhavatu nānyathā //

Rāmāyaṇa, 1.2.18.

When the heart of the poet was filled with pathos, a beautiful poem came from the heart of the poet. He pondered over this spontaneous flow of feelings and appreciated it. He came to the conclusion that his śoka (pathos) had been transformed into śloka (poetry). This very idea of śoka transformed into śloka has played a great role in the history of Alaṁkāra Śāstra. Ānandavardhana, the propounder of the Dhvani school has been inspired by this grand idea and on the basis of it, he has expounded the doctrine of Dhvani as the soul of Kāvya. So he says:

Kāvyasyātmā sa evārthastathā cādikaveḥ purā /
Krauncadvandvaviyogathaḥ śokah ślokatvamāgataḥ.

(Dhvanyālok, 1/5).

But the unconscious criticism of the Vedic seers or Vālmīki's unconscious appreciation of his own outpouring of heart at the sight of the pathetic scene cannot lead us to the conclusion that Sanskrit criticism as definite discipline began with the Ṛgveda or with Vālmīki. There is a virtual gap between the unconscious appreciation of poetry and the conscious formulation of the system of criticism. Ānandavardhana was inspired by the śoka-śloka equation of Vālmīki. But it does not lead us to the safe conclusion that Vālmīki followed a definite set of aesthetic rules knowingly.

In Sanskrit, the theory of poetry has a long history covering a long period with distinct stages of development. But we know very little about the beginning of the system until we come to Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. It is a monumental treatise on standard exposition of

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dramaturgy and deals with poetics insofar as it applies to the theme in hand. This has led many scholars[6] to the conclusion that poetics evolved out of dramaturgy. As Dr. Raghavan puts it, 'There is a consensus of opinion among the literary critics in considering drama as the greatest form of literature. It is also interesting to note in connection with this enquiry the historical fact that poetics rose out of dramaturgy. Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra is also the first work to deal with Alaṁkāra. Aristotle's Poetics considers Tragedy, a type of drama, as the greatest form of poetry. Among the writers of the Sanskrit Alaṁkāra Śastra, it is Vāmana who first said that among compositions, the dramatic is the best, for it is variegated and hence complete or full and wonderful like a picture.'[7]

The Natya Śastra, as a cognate branch of study, supplied Sanskrit poetics a standard on which it made a marked advance. The most important contribution of Nāṭya Śāstra, is the idea of aesthetic experience as a soul of poetry. But it is also to be acknowledged that Alaṁkāra Śastra and grammar school are closely associated. While Alaṁkāra Śastra deals with poetic expression, grammar deals with linguistic expression in general. As allied sciences, both schools have the problem of meaning as the common topic. This led many scholars to the conclusion that Alaṁakāra School arose as an offshoot of grammar school. Dr. De believes that doctrine of alaṁkara is based on the grammar school. His remark, in this respect is worth quoting— 'From the internal evidence as well as from the testimony which admits of little doubt, some of the ancient authorities on poetics, it is clear that the theoretical background of the discipline was, to some extent, founded on the philosophical speculations on linguistics, so that Grammar, one of the eldest and soundest sciences of India, was its god-father and helped it towards ready acceptance.'[8] The supremacy of the grammar school has been recognized from the ancient time and many ancient writers on poetics have acknowledged indebtness to the grammar school. Ānandavardhana refers to the grammarians in respectful term, as ' the first and foremost scholars (cf. prathame hi vidvāmsaso hi vaiyākaraṇah vyākaraṇamūlalvāt sarvavidyānam, Dhvanyālok, pp.132-

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33). From the earliest time, grammatical speculations moulded the conception of Upamā under different varieties and grammar has been included in Bhāmaha's Kāvyalaṁkāra and Vāman's Kāvyalaṁkāra Sūtra. Again the theory of meaning is a matter of difference and philosophers have expressed different views on it. Poeticians too have given different speculations on the theory of meaning on the analogy of the grammatical doctrines. Thus both the grammar school and the alaṁkara school were correlated and the natural affinity between these two schools was established from the very beginning.

Though grammar school and the different systems of philosophy influenced Sanskrit poetics and helped in many poetic speculations, we have no knowledge of any first treatise on poetics beyond Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra. It is the earliest available work on poetics. Thus it is only with Bharata that we enter into poetics proper though as a discipline it was older than Bharata.[9]

The history of Sanskrit poetics from Bharata to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja covers a long period of time, almost two thousand years and is marked by an intense ideological speculations about the theory of poetry. During this period of investigation into the soul of poetry, many schools of thought prevailed giving prominence to one principle at the exclusion of the other. Thus five to seven schools are found in the history of Sanskrit poetics. While MM.P.V. Kane[10] recognises five schools, some modern scholars[11] make it seven with the addition of the Anumiti Theory and the Aucitya Theory in the list. Dr. (Kumari) Suman Pande[12] enumerates six schools given below:

1. Rasa School, which stresses emotion
2. Aalaṁkāra school, which stresses figure of speech
3. Rīti School, which stresses style
4. Dhvani School, which stresses suggestiveness
5. Vakrokti School, which stresses crookedness of speech
6. Aucitya School, which stresses propriety.

These schools of thought are not totally exclusive of each other; rather they indicate gradual stages of development from the unknown beginning of the discipline to the search of the essence of poetry. This continuous search after the doctrine of poetry can be divided into four

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stages representing different types of scholastic study. The first stage of the discipline can be called the formative stage. It covers generally from the dim beginning of the discipline down to Bhāmaha. This is followed by a most important stage, namely the creative stage which is marked by the growth of the three important schools of thought. They are the Rīti, Rasa and the Dhvani schools. This stage covers from Bhāmaha to Anandavardhana. Then follows the definitive stage from Anandavardhana to Mammaṭa. The writers on poetics of this stage were reactionary in spirit; they refused to accept the new theory of Dhvanikāra and attempted to give currency to the older traditions of thought[13]. They tried to define poetry in terms of old ideas, as they refused to accept the new theory of the Dhvanikāra. The last stage covering from Mammaṭa to Jagannātha is a scholastic one marked by its distinctive feature of critical elaboration rather than creative acumen. The writers of this stage mostly confined themselves to distinction and subtle elaboration caring little for orginality. In the following few pages, we shall try to trace he development of the conception of poetry from Bharata downwards to understand Jagannātha's conception of poetry.

Bharata

Bharata is the earliest writer on Sanskrit poetics. His Nāṭya śāstra, as we have it, is the earliest work dealing with poetics. But we should bear in mind that Nāṭyaśāstra, is primarily concerned with dramaturgy and other allied topics; but it has also dwelt with for the first time, other topics coming under the purview of poetics proper. Bharata conceived of the drama as the synthesis of all literary forms and in his Nāṭyaśāstra he gave detailed suggestion for integrating stage effects, music, dance and histrionics into an organism, the soul of which was aesthetic pleasure.[14] He has laid down that Rasa is the essence of poetry though, of course, his conception of poetry was dramatic. Although he has not dealt with the general rhetorical doctrines of poetry, in the sixth chapter of his Nāṭyaśāstra he enumerated thirty six lakṣaṇas, four poetic figures, ten excellences (guṇas) and ten defects (doṣas). His famous Rasa-sūtra-'vibhānubhāvavybhicārisaṁyogādras aniṣpattiḥ' has been commented by many scholars according to the

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different systems of philosophy. It was, however, the great Kasmirian philosopher Abhinavagupta who evolved the Rasa Theory of Bharata applicable to poetry as well. Though his conception of Kāvya was dramatic, Bharata considered the plot as the body of poetry. Naturally, this leads us to the conclusion that rasa was taken by him as the soul of Kāvya (cf. na hi rasādṛte kaścidarthaḥ pravartate, N.S.). As Dr. Krishnamoorthy observes, 'It is interesting to observe that at the beginning of the twenty first chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra, Bharata says, Itivṛttaṁ tu kāvyasya śariraṁ parikīrtitaṁ, 'The plot may be described as the body of poetry' and there can be no doubt that Bharata meant Rasa to be its atman or 'soul' though he has not mentioned it in so many words. Thus the controversies raging on the body and soul of poetry in Sanskrit Alaṁkara works seem to have taken their start with Bharata.[15]

The Agnipurāṇa

The Agnipurāṇa contains few chapters which deal with poetics proper. Though its date is uncertain, it is also encyclopaedic in character. Among the scanty enumeration of topics of Alamkāra Śāstra, the Purāṇa mentions gesticulations, figures of speech, doṣas and guṇas. The figures of speech which have been dealt in it, are Yamaka, Citra, Upamā, Rūpaka, Sahokti, Arthāntaranyāsa, Utpreḳṣā, Atisaya, Vibhāvanā, Virodha and Hetu. The most outstanding feature of this Purāṇa is that here we get for the first time a clear definition of poetry. It runs as follows:

Saṁksepat vākyamistārthavyacchinnā padāvalī /
kāvyaṁ ... ...

Poetry is a group of words bringing an elegant meaning. It must have figure of speech, excellences and must be free from defects. This definition reminds us of Daṇḍin's definition who speaks in the same term- 'śarīraṁ tāvadistārthavyavacchinña padāvalī' (Kavyādarśa, 1.10). According to Dr. De[16] the Purānakāra borrowed Daṇḍin's definition and supplemented it by adding the latter portion (Kāvyaṁ phutatvāt etc.. However, without entering into the controversy about the date of Purāṇa, we can say that we find here for the first time a clear definition

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of poetry which considers words as body and rasa as the soul of poetry. (cf. vāg-vaidagddhga-pradhānépi rasa evātra jīvitaṁ). Thus in a narrow sense, Bharata is the founder of rasa theory; but the Agnipurāna is the propounder of the rasa school applicable to literature as a whole, though the Purāṇakāra presuppose some rhetoricians like Daṇḍin etc. as his predecessors.

Bhāmaha

Bhāmaha is the oldest exponent of the Alaṁkāra school in Sanskrit poetics. It is only with him that we enter into poetics proper. In his Kāvyālaṁkāra he gives in clear term what constitute the essence of Kāvya. According to him, sound and sense put together constitute Poetry:

'śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam', Kāvyālaṁkāra, 1.16.

This definition of Bhāmaha appears to be common place at the first sight. But a deeper study will reveal that it is not so. What Bhāmaha means to say is that poetry consists of words in which a definite sense must prevail and which must be made charming by means of poetic figures. 'Here we must remember the deeper meaning of Kālidāsa's comparison of the relation to the husband and wife as laid down in the Smṛtis (religio-ethical texts). Marriage is a sacrament and man and woman enter into holy union for the service performed together to Moral Law (Dharma) to which they both as well as the institution of marriage are subordinate. Since Rasa in this is like Dharma, it means that sound and meaning are not self-determined entities determined by the poetic emotion .'[17]

To understand the general rhetorical doctrine of Bhāmaha from his sūtra, we should know what he states about the two kinds of figures based respectively on word and sense. In his Kāvyālaṁkāra[18] Bhāmaha summarises the views of some ancient writers. One school considers alaṁkāras related to meaning as real alaṁkāras. The other school thinks that those alaṁkāras related to words are real alaṁkāras. But Bhāmaha accepts both śabdālaṁkāras and arthālamakāras. He, however, maintains that the peculiarity of alaṁkāra consists in strikingness in

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expression (cf. vakrāvidheyaśabdoktiriṣṭa vācāmalamkṛtiḥ, Kāvyālaṁkāra I.36). It is at the root of all alaṁkāras, P.V. Naganatha Sastry, the learned editor of Bhāmaha's Kavyalaṁkāra observes- 'Whether Bhāmaha was the earliest to recognize this or not, there is unmistakable evidence that he attached a great deal of importance to it (see Part I. V. 30 and V. 36 and Part II V. 85). In comparing the style 'Vaidarvī' with 'Gaudi', he calls the former 'Avakrokti'. According to him strikingness of meaning is the same as Atisayokti which according to Ānandavardhana is discoverable in every poetic figures (see Dhvanyāloka Locana, pp. 207-208).Bhāmaha's predilection for a 'twist in meaning' was so great that he discards Svabhāvokti as a figures , for, in it as its name implies there is no scope for any twist. This theory of Vakrokti has been developed into an elaborate system by Kuntaka in his Vakrokti jīvita'. (Introduction, P. XV).

As Bhāmaha was the upholder of the Alaṁkāra school, he did not give prominence to Rasa. But this does not mean that he was ignorant of the theory of Rasa. He knew it and stated that a Mahākāvya should contain various rasas separately (cf. yuktam lokasvabhāvena rasaisca sakalaih pṛthak-Kāvyālaṁkāra I, 21). But as an exponent of alaṁkāra theory, he gave importance to figures of speech and rasa was included in Rasavat alaṁkāra.[19]

Daṇḍin

After Bhāmaha, the most important writer in Sanskrit Alaṁkāra Śāstra is Daṇḍin. In him, we find an authority who used the works of his predecessors whose works are now lost beyond recovery. He presents us with a fully developed and elaborate doctrine of poetry and defines it thus: 'śarīraṁ tāvadiṣṭārthavyavacchinnā padāvalī' which means that the body of Kāvya consists of a group of words characterised by an idea which the poet desires to express. Daṇḍin's definition of poetry reminds one of Jagannātha's definition and one is led to consider these two definitions to be virtually identical. But in essence both are different.While Daṇḍin's iṣṭārtha is the intended meaning, Jagannātha's ramaṇīyatā means that charming idea which brings unworldly and disinterested pleasure. As Dr. Krishnamoorthy

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rightly observes, 'One night be tempted at first sight to correlate it with Jagannātha's definition of poetry in his Rasagangādhara, viz., ramaṇiyārthapratipādakaḥ śabdaḥ kāvyaṁ' and say that he gives more emphasis on the word or the form than to its substance which is given the subordinate place of a viśeṣaṇa (adjective) in the latter definition. This is what Sovani and Kane have actually done. But istārtha does not mean ramaṇiyārtha. It means vivakṣitātrtha, as Taruna Vacaspati has pointed and should be translated as 'sought to be expressed'[20].

While referring to the body of poetry, Daṇḍin refers to the alaṁkāras as the principle element in poetry (cf. taiḥ śarīraṁ ca kāvyānām alaṁkārasca darśitah.) But his conception of alaṁkāra is different from that of Bhāmaha. He uses the term alaṁkāra in a wider sense to cover everything which lends charms to poetry like ornaments enhancing the beauty of the human body, excellences or guṇas also would be included in alaṁkāra. So Daṇḍin uses the term as essential poetic attribute of śabda and artha and hence individual alaṁkāras are not the sole means of the beautifying principle.[21] D.K. Gupta[22] goes a step further to say that in addition to the gunas, the various forms of dramatic joints (sandhis) and manners(vṛttis) and lakṣaṇas were also conceived by him to be covered by the generic name alaṁkāra. So it is very difficult to associate Daṇḍin exclusively either with the Riti school or Alaṁkāra school. Dr. D.K. Gupta rightly remarks, 'He should be regarded, therefore, as an alaṁkāra theorist with the same force with which he is associated with riti school. In fact he affiliates himself to both the schools and it should be clearly understood that he cannot be linked exlusively with either of the two.'[23]

Though Daṇḍin gave prominence to alaṁkāra in poetry, he was also aware of rasa. He recognised the eight rasas of Bharata and also defined the poetic figures like preyas, rasavat and urjasvi. Thus he understood rasa both in narrower and wider senses.

Vāmana

The next writer after Daṇḍin is Vāmana whose works Kāvyalaṁkāra-Sūtravṛti shows further advancement and elaboration of

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poetic ideas. Though he does not define poetry, his treatment of rīti throws sufficient light on his conception of poetry. He is the first poetician who before Anandavardhana and Dhavanikāra, gave a systematic and careful poetic scheme and is unique in spite of its defects.[24] He had a more developed idea of the nature of poetry than his predecessors and he tired to conceive of the soul of poetry. In fact, his idea of the soul of poetry is the first attempt to grasp the esential or intrinsic element in it. He does not consider mere word and sense as poetry; it must, he holds, possess qualities and alaṁkāras as well. To him, the soul of poetry is the style which is a specific arrangement of words. In his Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra, Vāmana, propounding the rīti theory, says:

rītirātmā kāvyasya (1.2.6)
viśiṣṭapadaracanā rītih(1.2.7)
viśeṣo gunātmā (1.2.8)

Thus according to him, rīti is the soul of poetry. This rīti is a special arrangement of words. This special arrangement, again, is a definite combination of different guṇas or fixed excellences of composition. Vāmana divides riti into three varieties—Vaidarthī, Gauḍi and Pāñcālī and says that poetry rests on these three ritis as painting rests on the lines drawn on canvas (cf. etāsu tisṛsu rītiṣu rekhāsviva citraṁ kāvyaṁ pratiṣṭhitamiti'- Hindi Kāvyālaṁkarasūtṛavrti, p.26). They are so named not because of local cause but because they are found among the local poets. Of the three rītis, Vaidarvī is the perfect one because it possesses all the qualities.

Vāmana is the first rhetorician who visualised the soul of Kāvya crossing the body of it. Dhvanikāra appreciates him in clear term for his originality in propounding the theory of rīti which perceived vaguely the essential nature of Kāvya, and being unable to explain what actually brings charms to poetry, he propounded the theory of rītis.[25] In this theory, guṇas have been given a prominent place. He considers that the qualities are vital and figures are not; they are related to the body, word and meaning of poetry and to the style, which according to Vāmana is the soul of poetry.[26]

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The rīti school has shown a further development over the alaṁkāra school. Though this school considers the rīti as the soul of poetry it seems to grasp the essential charm of poetry. Dr. Sandhya Bhaduri[27] maintains that Vāmana's definition of rītis gives a clear indication of the concept of Dhvani as developed by the Dhvanikāra. Krisna Chaitanaya also seems to hold the same view when he remarks- 'Just as in posture, the body poised for action clearly reflects the inner temper and mood, diction reflects the inner temper, whether it is extrovert and energetic as in Gaudi or balance and serene as in Vaidarvi.'[28] But according to us, Vāmana pays his attention to the unifying principle of words and meanings which is, in a sense, a form inherent in them. The Agnipurāṇa referred earlier to the unifying principle of aesthetic experience known as rasa. This form is internal and transcends our sense organs. Moreover this form is not one but many. Noticing this defect in the Agnipurāṇa and non-recognition of unifying principle by the earlier rhetoricians, Vāmana lays emphasis on the importance of an external unifying principle inherent in words and meaning. This unifying principle is discernible by the outer sense organs. This he terms as rīti. We think that the mind of Dr. Sandhya Bhaduri and that of Krisna Chaitanya are obsessed by some favourite doctrines.

Dhvanikāra and Anandavardhana

The Dhvanyāloka is an epoch-making work in the history of Alaṁkāraśāstra in India. With the promulgation of the Dhvani theory, a new age was ushered in the history of Indian criticism. This marks the change of the whole outlook in the judgement of poetry by a departure from the old approach. Though this theory does not start with a technical definition like other schools of thought, it deals with the very genesis of poetry and gives a new grandeur to the art of poetry.

Before Dhavanikāra and Anandavardhana Bharata's rasa-sūtra was interpreted by Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa and other commentators and in their interpretation, they showed the aesthetic importance of rasa. Their rasa theory took account only of the dramatic art and so it did not come under the purview of poetics proper. It was Anandavardhana who

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showed that rasa-theory was equally applicable to poetry also. While viewed from this angle of vision, the Dhvani-theory can be called an extension of the rasa theory.[29] But Anandavardhana does not claim himself to be the original innovator of the theory; rather he clearly says that the principle of Dhvani was invented by the ancient scholars (cf. kāvyasyātmā dhvaniriti budhairyaḥ sam āmnātapūrvah etc.- Dhvanyāloka, 1..1).

Anandavardhana defines Dhvani kāvya thus:

yatrārthah śabdo vā tamarthamupasarjanīkṛtasvārthau/
vyankṭaḥ kāvyaviśeṣah dhvaniriti sūribhiḥ kathitaḥ//

Dhavanyāloka 1.13.

'That kind of poetry in which the directly expressed word and sense become subordinate to the suggested sense is called Dhvani by scholars[30].'The suggested sense is the essence of Kāvya. It differs from the expressed and indicated sense. It is like the glamour on the body of a woman which delights the heart of the sensitive person. Dhvanikāra has brought out the idea in an interesting way- 'yathā hyanganāṣu lāvanye pṛthaknirvarnyamānaṁ nikhilavayavavyatireki kimapyanyadeva sahṛdayalocanmṛtaṁ tatvantaraṁ tadvadeva sòarthaḥ', Dhvanyāloka, p.49).

Though Anandavardhana advocated Dhvani as the soul of poetry, he did not lose sight of rasa, the aesthetic experience in it. He divided dhvani into three kinds—matter(vastu), figure of speech (alaṁkāṛa) and sentiment (rasa)— sa hyarthovācya samarthakṣiptaṁ vastumātramalaṁk ārasraśadayoscatyaneka prabhedaprabhinno darśayiṣyate, (Dhv. p.50). But according to the Dhvanikāra, only that type of Kāvya where sentiment (rasa) is suggested, is the excellent Kāvya. In other words, neither alaṁkāra nor vastu but the suggestion of poetic sentiments should be the central point round which other elements of Kāvya should move (kāvyasyatmā sa eva arthaḥ, Dhv. 1.5.). If however in a Kāvya the suggested sense is subordinate to the expressed sense, that would be a second rate Kāvya. Again those Kāvyas having no suggestion at all, are the lowest and the third type of poetry and are called Citra-kāvya. Dhvanikāra attaches highest importance to the

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suggestion of rasa. The glory of poetic endeavour depends upon the realisation of rasa and the primary intention of a poet should be directed towards the evocation of rasa which is the guiding principle of a poet in his composition of word and sense[31].

The Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana, in fact, marks a departure from the old approach to poetic endeavour and in it, we find for the first time an attempt to study poetics from the aesthetic point of view assimilating all the essentials of various schools of Sanskrit criticism. Giving prominence to rasa, he gives a new explanation of all the problems of poetics. As a matter of fact, alaṁkāra, rīti, and guṇas have their importance only in the context of suggestion which is the soul of Kāvya. Abercrombie rightly remarks, 'Literary art, therefore, will always be in some degree suggestion; and the height of literary art is to make the power of suggestion in language as commanding, as far-reaching, as vivid, as subtle as possible. This power of suggestion supplements whatever language gives by being understood; and what it gives in this way is by no means confined to its syntax[32].' One great merit of Anandavardhana is that he establishes Dhvani theory to restore rasa a supreme status in poetry and in his scheme, the relative position of rasa, guṇa, alaṁkāra and doṣa are fixed for all time to come. Here indeed we meet, for the first time an attempt to approach from poetry to poetics. It gives due importance to the poet's imagination and his sense of propriety. Though a discordant note was made against the principle of Dhvani by some poeticians, it has touched the fundamentals of poetics art which will be true for all times. It is, to speak in brief, the meeting point of all principles of Indian literary criticism.

In the history of Indian Aesthetics Abhinavagupta holds a unique position as a critic. A prolific writer on Pratyâbhijnā school of Kasmir Saivism, he has large number of books to his credit. But as a critic, he is widely known for his two commentaries on he Nātyaśāstra and the Dhvanyāloka which go by the name Abhinavabhāratī and Locana respectively. His glory as a critic rests on these two works. He has interpreted Bharata's famous Rasasūtra on the basis of the Pratyabhijnā philosophy and this is known as Abhivyaktivāda which revolutionises

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the standard Indian Aesthetics. Abhinava's theory has drawn the attention of many later alaṁkārika and they have tried to give their own interpretation. Barring one or two rhetoricians, almost all the writers on poetics follow Abhinava's theory on Rasa and Dhvani[33].

Kuntaka

Chronologically and logically Kuntaka comes next after Anandavardhana and Dhvanikāra. In the Vakroktijīvita, he propounds the novel theory of vakrokti thereby giving vakrokti a high position as the all-pervading principle of poetry. According to this theory, Vakrokti is the soul of poetry. It is not the mere alaṁkāra of śabda or artha, it is vaicitra or strikingess which causes extra-ordinary or disinterested charm in poetry. While telling the purpose of his Vakroktijīvita, Kuntaka says:

lokottarachamatkāra kārivaicitrasiddhaye/
kāvyanyayamalaṁkāraḥ kopyapūrvovidhīyate//
(Vakroktijīvita, 1.2).

Though there are hundreds of alaṁkāras of Kāvya, Kuntaka maintains that they have not such beauty as Vakrokti possesses. His conception of alaṁkāra is a broad one and in it he includes both the poetic figures and guṇas.

In Sanskrit poetics, Vakrokti is not a new thing. Different poeticians have used it in different senses. Bhāmaha regards Vakrokti not as an alaṁkāra but as a characteristic mode of expression underlying all alaṁkāras and thus it forms the essential element in poetry-

saiṣā sarvaiva vakroktiranayārtho vibhāvyate/
yatnosyāṁ kavinā kāryaḥ kolamkaronayā vinā//
(Kāvyālaṁkāra 11.85)

Daṇḍin, however, uses the term in an entirely different meaning. He uses it to mean all alaṁkāras other than svabhāvorti. He divides alaṁkāra into two broad divisions- svabhāvokti and vakrokti and accordingly his Vakrokti is the collective designation of poetic figures. Thus Kuntaka's concept of vakrokti is a broad one which includes all

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other poetic ideas under it. To establish Vakrokti as the essential element in poetry, he defines poetry thus:

śabdārthau sahitau vakrakavivyāpāraśālini/
bandhe vyavasthitau kāvyaṁ tadvidahadakariṇi//

(Vakroktijīvita 1.7)

Kuntaka maintains that neither mere charming word nor mere charming sense constitute Kāvya. Sāhitya , according to him, is the combination of beautiful śabda and artha with Vakrokti as its essential embelishment. Vakrokti is defined thus:

'Vakroktireva vaidagdhyabhangibhaṇitirucyate'

(Vakroktijīvita 1.10)

It is a mode of expression depending on the peculiar turn given to it by the skill of the poet. It owes its origin to he Kavi Kauśala or Kavi-pratibhā. It is a kind of alaṁkṛti of śabda and artha which are alaṁkārya. The figures of speech are only aspects of vakrokti and as such, they are included in the broad connotation of Vakrokti. Judging from this point of view, Kuntaka finds fault with those who hold that alaṁkāras belong to poetry, for, in that case, Kāvya can exist without it (cf. tenalaṁkṛtasya kāvyatvamiti sthitiḥ, na punaḥ kāvyasyalaṁkāryoya iti, Vakroktijīvita p.7). Kuntaka does not recognise Svabhāvokti, Rasavat, Preyas, Urjasvin, Udātta and Samāhita as alaṁkāras. If Svabhāvokti is taken as an alaṁkāra, there is nothing which is alṁkārya. So in the Vokrokti scheme of Kuntaka, Vastusvabhāva, rasas and bhāvas etc. are alaṁkārya and so they cannot be considered as alaṁkāras. One and the same object cannot be both alaṁkāra and alaṁkārya. He has clarified this idea with a beautiful example-

śarīraṁ chedalaṁkāraḥ kimalamkurute paraṁ/
ātmaiva nātmanaḥ skandhaṁ kvacidapyadhirohati//

(Vakroktijīvita 1.13)

'If alaṁkāra becomes the body, what would be decorated by it? Nobody can mount on the shoulder of himself.'

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Similarly, Kuntaka does not accept Rasavat as an alaṁkāra. He criticises the views of his predecessors like Bhāmaha and Ānandavardhana for acknowledging Rasavat as alaṁkāra. For, it is alaṁkārya and not alaṁkāra. Rasa is always pradhāna and cannot be subordinate to anything. Nor can it be both alaṁkāra and alaṁkārya. Ānandavaradhana, who gives a prominent place to Rasa in his Dhvani theory as the soul of poetry, commits a mistake by treating Rasa as subordinate in the guṇibhūtavyangya Kāvya. Criticising all these views, Kuntaka maintains that in Rasavat, the poet can create vakrokti based on Rasa which provides the charming element in it.

Though Kuntaka attaches highest importance to Vakratā, he is aware of the concepts of rāiti, guṇa, rasa, bhāva and dhvani. He interprets all these concepts in the light of his own theory and assigns their position in any form of vakratā. Thus in his Vakroktijīvita, admitting the necessity of rasa, he says:

nirantararasodgāragarbha sandarvonirbharāḥ/
giraḥ kavinām jīvanti na kathāmātreāśritaḥ//

(Vakroktijīvita, De's edition,
Resume unmesa IV, p.225)

Not merery story or plot can constitute a poet; it is only beauty in the words of the poet by the proper delineation of rasa which actually raises them to the status of poetry. But rasa in Kuntaka's analysis is comprehended in the Vakrokti only.

Kuntaka criticises the rīti-theorists for the classification and the names of the rītis adopted by them. He finds faults with the criterion by which rīti is divided on geographical basis; for, in that case, there would be infinite number of rītis as there are innumerable countries (cf. na ca viśiṣṭaritījuktatvena kāvyakāranaṁ mātuleyavagiṇivivāhavad deśadharmatayā vyavasthāpayituṁ śakyaṁ-Vakroktijīvita, p.45). Kuntaka's contention is that rīti cannot be based on deśadharma; it is based on the poetic power (śakti), culture (vyutpatti) and practise (abhyāsa) of the poet. Similarly he does not admit the classification of rīti into uttama, madhyama and adhama, because the inferior type of poetry is not poetry at all.

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Kuntaka's attitude towards Dhvani is on the same line as his attitude towards other principles of literary criticism, like Rasa, Rīti, guṇa etc. On account of his apparent prominence to Vakrokti in poetry, he naturally comprehends dhvani in some kind of Vakratā. So Ruyyaka says in his Alaṃkārasarvasva-'upacāravakratādibhiḥ samasto dhvaniprapanchaḥ svikṛitaḥ'. Commenting upon this statement of Ruyyaka, Vidyāchakravartin says- 'upacāro lakṣaṇaśrāyanāṃ tadvakretiti avivakṣitavācyadisamastadhvaniḥ kaṭākṣitah' (Alaṃkārasarvasva of Ruyyaka, ed. S.S. Janaki, p.11). The term upacāra means lakṣaṇā or indication and so all kinds of dhvani based on indication and others would fall under upacāravakratā. Kuntaka, therefor, may be said to belong to the school of opinion which holds that bhakti or lakṣaṇa is sufficient to cover suggestion. Dr. S.K. De[34] calls this view- 'antarbhāvavāda.'

Thus Kuntaka was highly influenced by Anandavardhana. His classification of Vakratā is based on the classification of dhvani[35]. It begins from 'letter' the lowest type of unit in poetry and covers the Mahākāvya as well. His main classifications are six in number:

(1) Varṇaviṇyāṣavakratā
(2) Padapūrvārdha Vakratā
(3). Padaparārdha Vakratā
(4) Vākyavakrata or Vastu-vakratā
(5) Prakaraṇa Vakratā
(6) Prabandha Vakratā

Kuntaka propounded the Vakrokti theory as a rival of Dhvani theory. He did not criticise Anandavardhana nor did he refute the principle of dhvani. On the other hand, he was under the influence of Dhvanikāra and indirectly he admitted the principle of Dhvani. There is no fundamental difference in the conception of poetic beauty of these two poeticians. Both the principles are related to Kavi-pratibhā and according to them poetic genius is the source of good poetry. But the principles of approach of both the alaṃkārikas are different. Unfortunately Kuntaka's theory of Vakrokti did not receive liberal recognition at the hands of the rhetoricians as the Dhvani theory of Anandavardhana got and the proper assessment of kuntaka's

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contribution to Sanskrit literary criticism was not duly recognised as Ānandavardhana's was.

Mahimabhaṭṭa

The next writer on Alaṃkāraśāstra deserving our attention is Mahimabhaṭṭa. Though he has not dealt with the general rhetorical doctrines on poetry, he wrote his Vyaktiviveka to show that all kinds of so-called suggestive meaning is an inference. So in the beginning of his work, he laid down:

anumānenantarbhāvaṁ sarvasyaiva dhvaneḥ prakāśituṁ
vyaktivivekaṁ kurute praṇamya mahimā paraṁ vācaṁ
(VV 1.1)

He wrote Vyaktiviveka for demolishing the theory of dhvani propunded by the Dhvanyāloka. Though Mahimabhaṭṭa was a bitter critic ofĀnandavardhana, he had great amount of admiration and high respect for Anandavardhana[36]. Mahimabhaṭṭa did not differ from Anandavardhana on all points. He was one with Dhvanikāra in recognising rasa as the soul of poetry (vide, kāvyasyātmani sajmini rasādirūpe nakaeyacidvimatiḥ, Hindi Vyaktiviveka, p.111). But he did not admit the position of Anandavardhana that there was a third function called vyañjanā and that the suggested sense is conveyed by this function. According to Mahimabhaṭṭa, words have only one power—the power of rousing the conventional meaning. Other powers belong to the meaning and not to the word. Words cannot have many powers. Had they many powers they would have been independent and their functions would have been simultaneous. But as a matter of fact, many powers which are held to belong to the words by the Dhvani theorists are seen not functioning simultaneously. Rather other powers operate only after the conventional meaning is roused. So words have only one power; other powers belong not to the words, but to meanings. Abhidhā becomes weak after bringing conventional meaning; it cannot bring any other meanings. The suggested sense is conveyed not through conventional meaning but through the process of inference.

After recognising abhidhā as a sole function of words, he accepts two senses of a words namely, expressed sense and the inferable sense.

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The expressed sense belongs to the function of the word and is called a primary sense. Another meaning is conveyed through the inference as from a linga (hetu) in a syllogism. This kind of meaning again is of three varieties in the shape of vastu, alaṁkarā and rasa. Of these three, the first two, viz. vastu and alaṁkarā are possible through the expressed sense, but the last is always inferable.[37]

Criticising the definition of Dhvanikāvya given by Anandavardhana, Mahimabhaṭṭa points out ten defects in it and numerates them in the following Kārikas:

arthasya viśiṣṭatvaṁ śabdaḥ saviśeṣaṇastadah puṁstvaṁ

dvivacanavā śabdau ca, vyaktirdhvaniṁāma kāvyavaiśiṣṭaṁ//
vacananca kathanakartuḥ kathitā dhvaniakṣaṇiti daśa doṣaḥ/
ye tvanye tadvedapravedalakṣaṇagata na te gaṇitāḥ//

(Hindi Vyaktiviveka, 1.25, 24)

He removes the defective padas from the definition and shows that this definition of dhvani is nothing but the definition of anumāna:

vācyastadanumito vā yatrārthorthāntaraṁ prakāśayati/
sambandhataḥ kutaścit sa kavyānumitirityuktā//

(Hindi Vyaktiviveka, 1.25)

As the exponent of the anumiti theory, he maintains that rasa is not suggested as Dhvanikāra holds; it is inferred from vibhāva, anubhāva etc. So he says, 'yāpi vibhāvādibhī rasādināṁ pratitiḥ sa' numāna eva antarbhāvāmarhati.' According to Dr. N.N. Chaudhury, this statement of Mahimabhaṭṭa is an echo of Shrī Śankuka.[39] Dr. K.C. Pandey[40] also considers him to be a follower of Śaṅkuka upholding the inferential theory in aesthetics. Accordingly, Mahimabhaṭṭa holds that the relation between the vibhāva and sthāyibhāva is that of cause and effect. In literature, vibhāvas etc. are not real; they are imitation only for the artistic representation. From this unreal vibhāva, anubhāva etc. rasa is inferred. So these are only cause or hetu in the realisation of rasa (rasapratīti). These become the helper of cause and effect of rati and other vibhāvas and in this way, there is the realisation of rasa (cf. vibhāvanubhāvavyabhicāri pratītirhi rasādipratitcḥ sādhanamiṣyate/ etc

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hi ratyādināṁ bhāvānāṁ kāranakāryasaha kāribhūtastananumapayanta eva rasādin niṣpādayanti/ ete eva hi pratīyamāna āsvadapadavīm gataḥ śanto rasa ityucyante (Hindi V.V. pp. 477).

Mahimabhaṭṭa's Vyaktiviveka is a master-piece in the history of Sanskrit poetics. As a writer, he has been able to betray his fine scholarship, brilliant argument and deep critical acumen. As a polemical scholar he will always get a high position among the scholars of India. But advocating the anumiti theory, he could not make an original contribution to the Sanskrit criticism. Like Kuntaka, he was also fighting for a cause which was already lost. His criticism of dhvani is an exhibition of pedantry, and he cannot explain the intensity of feeling as has been shown by Anandavardhana.

Kṣemendra

Kṣemendra is a great Kāsmirian aesthetician who is known as the exponent of the Aucitya theory. Propounding his theory in the Aucityavicāracarcā, he maintains that aucitya or appropriateness is the essence of verbal principle which surely leads to aesthetic experience (aucityaṁ ras¯asiddhasya ṣthiraṁ k¯avyasya j¯ivitaṁ Anucityavicāracarcā, Kārikā 5). He, therefore, considers aucitya as the soul of poetry full of flavour. Thus admitting rasa as the most vital element of Kāvya, he connects propriety with poetry as the most important principle in it. In his treatment, propriety is given a higher place in poetry than rasa itself. Dr. Suryakanta has beautifully brought out the relative position of aucitya and rasa in Kṣemendra's principle of aucitya—'There are two things which are necessary for the existence of man- body and soul. The body is made up of the five elements and is sustained by the vital essence. This essence includes the seven fluids and is an elementary ingredient. Soul, on the other hand, is absolutely necessary for substance of life in human body. Both the vital essence and soul are of more or less the same importance for life. Now, Kṣemendra says that 'Aucitya' or propriety is like the soul in the body of poetry, while Rasa or flavour is like the vital essence. Thus, in a way Kṣemendra places Aucitya higher than even Rasa'.[41]

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Aucitya is not something new in Sanskrit poetics. It has a long history of its evolution and development as a distinct school in poetics. Dr. Suryakanta deals with the development of the concept of propriety from the days of Daṇḍin to that of Kṣemendra.[42] Dr. D.K. Gupta, following Dr. Raghavan, traces back the doctrine of aucitya to Bharata who included the concept in the dramatic elements like prakṛti, pravṛtti, acting, ornamentation etc. Kṣemendra, however, develops the idea of propriety into systematic discipline.He maintains that aucitya is the perpetual and imperishable life of poetry and without it, poetry, though possessed of guṇa and alaṁkāra, becomes lifeless (aucityam tvagre vakaṣamānalakṣaṇaṁ sthiraṁ avinaśvaraṁ jīvitaṁ kāvyasya tena vināsya guṇālamkarajuktasyāpinirjivatvāt—Aucityavicāracarcā, Ed. Narrayan Simha, p.2). Ksemendra defines aucitya thus:

ucitaṁ prāvurācāryaḥ sādirasaṁ kila yasya yat/
ucitasya yo bhāvastadaucityaṁ pracakṣate//

(Aucityavicāracarca, 7).

'The great masters have called that to be proper which is verily suited to certain thing. The abstract idea of being proper goes by the name of propriety'.[43] He enumerates twenty eight places like word, sentence, composition, etc. where aucitya is available and remarks that aucitya, though pervades all these places, remains in the life of Kāvya like the life in human body pervading all its limbs. Though Kṣemendra is given the credit of propounding the theory of propriety, he simply appears to develop the idea embodied in the following Kārikā of the Dhvanyāloka-

anaucityādṛte nānyad rasabhangasya kāraṇaṁ/
prasiddhaucityabandhastu rasasyopaṇiṣatparā//

(Dhvanyāloka, p.330)

'Except impropriety, there is no other cause for abatement in the relish of poetry. A composition containing the well-known propriety is the very secret of flavour'. Thus according to Dhvanikāra, all poetical elements like rasa, guṇa, rīti have their value in poetry provided there is propriety in it. The whole fabric of expression should follow the law of propriety. Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta stabilised the idea that

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poetry is triple unity of rasa, dhvani and aucitya[44]. Aucitya, therefore, contributes in a long way to the realisation of rasa. Following Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra introduces the noval idea of distinction between the soul and life of poetry and so in the aucitya scheme feeling is the soul and propriety is the life[45]. Other categories of literary excellence like alaṁkāra, riti etc., have their value if there is soul in it.

All the exponents of Kṣemendra's Aucitya have been carried away by his rhetorical statements, namely, he has expressed Kāvya as a living body. Most probably he does not dare mention the names of other forms of composition such as, historical records, biography, systems of philosophy,Upaniṣads etc., as dead Kāvyas. Therefore he has kept silent on the point. All the supporters of Kṣemendra have tried their level best to justify Kṣemendra's seemingly new statement of aucitya as the life force of literature. Nobody has ever heard of dead literature. Therefore, Kṣemendra has clearly managed to omit the examples of dead literatures as his negative examples. He has borrowed the idea of aucitya from Anandavardhaṅna and attached too much importance to it in order to cast into a shade all other theories of ancient rhetoricians. Aucitya is not at all a new concept. Other critics have pointed out in clear terms that Bharata is the propounder of the idea of aucitya.

Mammṭa

Mammṭa is the first and foremost of the writers on alaṁkāra in Post-dhvani period. His far-famed work Kāvyaprakāśa occupies a unique place in the history of alaṁkāra literature. It occupies the same position in alaṁkāra literature as the Sārirakabhāsya in Vedanta or the Mahābhāṣya in grammar.[46] The great merit of Mammaṭa's work lies in the fact that here in this classical work different trends and currents of thoughts in Sanskrit poetics flowing from different directions from the dim beginning of the critical discipline, took a unfied form running into one clear and main stream. Different theorists supporting different schools of thought laid emphasis on the different elements of poetry in their respective expositions. Thus while the Alaṁkāra school gave prominence to embellishment in poetic expression, Rasa school

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confined itself in recognising rasa as the soul of Kāvya. The Rīti school considered rīti as the most important in poetry. The Dhvani school admitted the relative importance of all these elements and advocated the novel theory of Dhvani in which all these ideas were harmonised and rationalised into a synthetic system. Mammaṭa who was a follower of Dhvani school gave final shape to the concept of Dhvani and brought it into perfection.

The great merit of Mammaṭa's Kāvya Prakāśa is that though he belonged to the new school of Sanskrit poetics he did not brush aside the theories of the ancients. He not only followed the theory of Dhvani but also helped to a great deal in establishing the authority of the Kāsmirian school headed by Anandavardhana. But in spite of his support of dhvani, he seems to recognise a composition devoid of dhvani as Kāvya. No doubt like Dhvanikāra and Anandavardhana he accepted the importance of rasa in poetry, but in his definition[47] of it he betrays his adherence to the theories of the ancients. His defintion of Kāvya is a pointer to this direction. This definition does not differ, in essence, from that of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin where he assigns a subordinate place to the figures of speech. But on account of his support to the ancient rhetoricians, he begins the definition of poetry with śabda and artha and mentions guṇa, doṣa and alaṁkāra, though he accepts the truth of rasa and dhvani theories. Visvanātha, though a follower of Mammaṭa, mercilessly criticises each and every word of his definition. In most cases these arguments are fastidious and pedantic and they have been met with by Mammaṭa's commentators.[48] MM. Dr Kane also remarks—'As to these objections one cannot help saying that Viśvanatha is here over-fastidious and is perhaps actuated by the desire of making a show of his erudition by pouring ridicule upon a famous predecessor. This must be said in favour of Mammaṭa that his definition has the great merit of being simple and easily understood. ...

Every one is familiar with words doṣa, guṇa and alaṁkāra. By using them, Mammaṭa conveys a tolerably clear and accurate idea of the character of poetry.'[49]

Consistent with this definition of poetry, Mammaṭa discusses the function of śabda and artha and accepting the superiority of dhvani,

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he classifies poetry into three classes—Dhvani, Guṇībhūta-vyangya and Citra. While dilating upon the Rasa theory, he examines different interpretations advocated by Lollaṭa, Śankuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and rejecting them on the ground of inadequacy, he accepts the theory of Abhinavagupta known as Vyaktivāda.

In his treatment of guṇas, Mammaṭa differs from Vāmana. He holds the opposite views of Vāmana that guṇas are related to śabda and artha; but he interpretes them, after Anandavardhana, as the property of rasa. He defines guṇas thus:

ye rasasyāngino dharmāḥ sauryādaya evātmanaḥ/
utkarṣahetavaste syuracalasthitayo guṇāḥ//

Kāvyaprakāśa 8.66

He concludes his view on guṇa with the following statement—'ata eva mādhuryadayo rasadharmaḥ samucitairvarnairvyajyante na tu varṇamātrāśrayaḥ'. He views the alaṁkāras with the same consideration; their position in poetry is justified by their relation to rasa. Thus alaṁkāras embellish indirectly, through word and sense, the underlying soul of sentiment. If there is no rasa in it, the poetic figures become a mere turn of charming expression. Following Aanandavardhana, Mammaṭa recognises three guṇas and not ten as admitted by the ancients. According to him some of these ten can be included under these three and others can be reduced to mere negation of certain defects and as such, they are three in number.

Mammaṭa is a great figure in the history of Alaṁkāraśāstra, His Kāvya Prakāśa is an epoch-making work where he dilates upon the different problems of Sanskrit poetics. He has almost fixed for all time to come the course along which the Dhvani-theory had to flow by his most systematic and perfect treatment of various topics of Alaṁkāraśastra. His Kāvya Prakāśa puts an end to all the controversies that were raging earlier against the validity of the Dhvani-theory. In a sense the value of his work does not lie in originality. It paraphrased in a concise and orderly way all the main issues of Sanskrit poetics. It was so timely that it acquired great popularity. 'In a word, Mammaṭa produced a master-piece of a textbook, which people were badly needing

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and it came to receive so much appreciation that it became the fashion to write similar textbooks in the period that followed.'[50]

Viśvanātha

Mammaṭa presents in a consolidated form the different theories of his predecessors. After him, a galaxy of rhetorians flourished and they mainly revived the old alaṁkāra theory again. Among them mention may be made of Ruyyaka (c.1150 A.D), Vāgbhata I (first half of the twelfth century), Jayadeva (c.1200-5) the author of the Chandrāloka and Vāgbhata II.[51] Hemchandra, a Jain writer and a contemporary of Mammaṭa wrote his Kavyānuśāsana with a commentary upon it, 'Viveka' by name. His work is devoid of originality and shows a placid borrowing from Mammṭa, Abhinavagupta and Rajaśekhara.[52] Other writers who deserve to be mentioned are Vidyādhara (between 1285-1325 A.D.), the author of Ekāvalī and Vidyānātha (fourteenth century A.D), the author of the Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa. Both these writers cover the entire field of poetics in their works.

Of all later writers on alaṁkāra, Viśvanātha is very popular among the scholars of India. Compared with the galaxy of scholars like Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa and Jagannātha, he may be of second magnitude; but his Śāhityadarpaṇa has its own merit.[53] The work is a compilation and is largely based on Mammaṭa's work. It also deals with dramaturgy which was left by most of the writers on poetics. Written in the usual form of sūtra and vṛtti, he deals with all the topics of alaṁkāra śāstra in a very simple and easy flowing language.

The logical conclusion of the Dhvani theory was to give the highest importance to rasa in all poetry. Mammaṭa and Anandavardhana felt shy of it and they distinctly did not state that rasa was the soul of poetry. The credit of boldly stating rasa as the soul of poetry goes to Viśvanātha who defines poetry as sentence the soul whereof is rasa (vākyaṁ rasātmakaṁ kāvyaṁ). His definition goes a long way in assigning the proper place to rasa which was faintly envisaged by Bharata and more vividly elucidated by Anandavardhana. But according to Prof. Rajbamsa Sahaya[54] the credit of recognising rasa as the soul of poetry does not go to Viśvanātha. Even before him, two rhetoricians

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Sauddhadani and Chandidāsa recognised rasa as the soul of poetry. But the logical conclusion of the Dhvani theory was to give the highest importance to Rasa in poetry and Mammaṭa and Anandavardhana did not state distinctly rasa as the soul of poetry in their definition. But they tacitly acknowledged it as the most essential element. Viśvanātha not only accepted rasa as the soul of poetry but also went a step further to say that under rasa, rasābhāsa also should be included and any composition having rasa or rasābhāsa would be counted as poetry. But by admitting a distant touch of rasa in all poetry, Viśvanātha involves himself in a very awkward position and has become the target of severe criticism at the hand of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. His definition of poetry, however, reminds us of the celebrated words of the English poet Wordsworth who speaks of it as 'spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings' and 'emotion recollected in tranquility.' But while Wordsworth appears to view poetry from the standpoint of the poet, Viśvanātha thinks from the point of view of the sahṛdaya.[55] Thus, his definition of poetry is a subjective one and goes a long way in assigning the proper place to rasa which was faintly envisaged by Bharata and vividly elucidated by Aanandavardhana. But in spite of his giving a supreme position to rasa in poetry, Viśvanātha's definition is not free from defects. The most serious objection to it that it will exclude those poetical literature which have no rasa, though of course, they have charms in them and this, however, is not desirable.

Appayadīkṣita

Appayadīkṣita, a South Indian polymath was a great writer on Sanskrit literature and a champion of Southern Saiva philosophy. He is known to have written hundred books.[56] His contribution to Indian poetics are —Vṛttavārtika, Kuvalayānanda and Citramīmāmsā. In his Vṛttavārtika, he has dwelt on word and meaning. His second work is an elementary work on Alaṁkarāsāstra dealing with alaṁkāra. It is based on the Chandrāloka of Joydeva, and here he profusedly borrowed from the latter. In the whole range of Sanskrit poetics, Kuvalayānanda is the only work where largest number of poetic figures have been treated. His Citramīmānsā is an incomplete work; it deals with the division of Kāvya together with the treatment of few figures of speech. One

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noteworthy feature of Appayadīkṣita is that he has given the elaborate treatment of the largest number of poetic figures and has tried to throw some new flash of thought on some vexed problem of poetics. But from the standpoint of originality, they have little merit. All his rhetorical works are elementary text-books and in them he collects in a systematic manner the speculation of ancient rhetoricians.

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja

Jagannātha is the last giant critic of the rhetoric school. With him the race of Indian literary critics practically extinguished. As the last luminary in the galaxy of literary critics he deserves a prominent place in the history of Sanskrit poetics. The doctrines of Sanskrit poetics held by different theorists and refuted by opponents were already established on firm footing before the advent of Paṇḍitarāja himself. In his Rasagāngadhara, he tries to fix the course of intense ideological speculations about the essence of poetry from the time of Bharata. Credit is due to him not for their standardization, but for their exposition and assessment by his subtle reasoning with the application of the Navyanyāya terminology. We propose to make in the following chapters a critical assessment of the chief aesthetic doctrines of Jagannātha and to determine his place in the field of Sanskrit Criticism.

Paṇḍitarāja starts his work Rasagāngadhara by the definition of poetry. He defines poetry as follows—'ramaṇīyārthapratipādakaḥ śabdaḥ kāvyaṁ', which means that word expressing charming sense is Kāvya. This charmingness does not consist in the generation of an ordinary feeling of pleasure. It conveys a very deeper sense. This deeper sense cannot be expressed by any simple equivalent English term. It requires a careful interpretation. It consists of a few elements which constitute the central significance of this sense.

It is not an ordinary feeling which is the private property of an individual soul. This property is called personal feeling. The aesthetic experience consists also of transcendental bliss of an absorbing character. This is called impersonal and universal. It is shared by all connoisseurs alike. Nobody is ashamed in the presence of all to feel the affectionate love of the hero towards the heroine as identical with that of

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his own. He has identified himself with the object namely hero etc.; but this identification remains in the background and experiencing the feeling he allows himself to be overwhelmed by the feeling and allows him to become one with the object, though as the subject he experiences the feeling. In this experience, this impersonal experience has been emphasised and this impersonal universal experience tinged with the bliss is called lokattarāhlāda.

Let me clearly state the elements mentioned before-

(a) impersonality, (b) universality, (c) identity of the subject and object, (d) subject in the background, (e) prominence of the aesthetic experience, (f) cognition and bliss blended together in a harmonious whole, (g) directness and vividness of such experience, (h) its absorbing character.

Jagannātha's definition of poetry reminds us of Daṇḍin's definition which, according to him, is a series of words conveying beautiful sense (Kāvyādarśa, 7.10). According to some scholars[57], Jagannātha's definition is an imitation of Daṇḍin's definition of poetry and in doing so Paṇḍitarāja followed the old theory of poetry. As Prof. Siva Prasad Bhattacharjee remarks, 'The definition of Kāvya in the R.G. has been held in some quarters as a crowning achievement of his. A little thought will reveal the slippery foundations of this high praise. The student of alaṁkāra is struck by its affinity to the description of the śarīra (body) of the Kāvya by Daṇḍin.'[58] But this similarity is apparent, not real. Daṇḍin's iṣṭārtha is simply elegant sense or intended sense. His definition refers only to the body of poetry; it cannot go beyond that.[59] Jagannātha's definition on the other hand, has a deeper meaning. It takes into consideration the poetic sentiment which is purely transcendental and impersonal in character. According to Dr. Keith,[60] the definition of Paṇḍitarāja is a development to a logical conclusion of the doctrine of the enjoyment of sentiment which is essentially universal and impersonal and so purely pleasurable. Thus it is not an amplification of the definition of Daṇḍin; it is a synthesis of the old theories with a new current of thought. Dr. (Kumari) Suman Pande rightly observes, 'Jagannātha's remāṇiyatā is thus not only the

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iṣṭārtha of Daṇḍin, not only the saundaryaṁ of Vāmana, it is the sahṛdayaslāgyatā of Dhvanikāra, the svaspandasundaratā of Kuntaka, the aucitya of Kṣemendra and rasātmakatā of Viśvanātha as well.'[61]

After defining Kāvya, Jagannāth criticises Mammaṭa's definition of poetry. Poetry, according to Mammaṭa, consists of word and sense without faults and with merit and excellence of style—which may at times be without Figures of speech.[62] Criticising this definition, Jagannātha states word and sense cannot be the import of Kāvya. From the universal usages of the statements like 'poetry is read loudly', 'the meaning of poetry is not understood', 'poetry is heard but meaning is not grasped' go to establish the fact that the import of the term 'poetry' is word only. Again as there is no valid ground to prove that both word and meaning constitute Kāvya, it rests that poetry is word only and the same arguments will be applicable to the Vedas and Purāṇas as well.

Controverting those who hold that which is conducive to the realisation of pleasure is poetry and that belongs to both word meaning, Paṇḍitarāja states that this is not tenable; for then many non-Kāvayas, like musical tunes and other accompaniments of dramatic performance will be included in Kāvya. So Paṇḍitarāja says—'etena rasadbodhasamārthasyaivātra lakṣyatvamityapi parāstam.' Again posing the question whether word and sense together constitute Kāvya jointly or individually, he sates that the first alternative is untenable, because one cannot be two. The second alternative also is rejected on the ground that one poetry will have to be taken to be two which is absurd. So like the Vedas and Purāṇas, poetry is constituted of words alone.

Nāgeśa in his Gurumarma Prakāśika (Rasagangādhara, p.7) refutes the argument of Paṇḍitarāja and establishes the faultlessness of Mammaṭa's definition. Refuting the view of Paṇḍitarāja, Nāgeśa says that though Jagannātha cites instances like 'Kāvyaṁ śrutaṁ' 'kāvyam pathitaṁ' in support of his contention that poetry consists of word alone, there are popular expressions like poetry is listened to, poetry is understood etc. and these go to establish that the connotation of poetry covers both word and sense. It is because of this fact Patañjali has

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rightly enunciated 'tadadhīte', 'tadveda' which goes to support that the connotation of the Vedas is non-unilocus (vyāsajyavṛtti) and it covers both word and sense.

Again, raising his objection against the propriety of the use of terms 'saguṇa' and 'sālaṁkāra' in Mammaṭa's definition, Paṇḍitarāja states that guṇa and alaṁkāra should not be mentioned in the definition. When the sentence 'the moon has risen' is uttered by a dutī to an abhisārikā or a love-lorn lady, then different senses like abhisāravidhi, abhisāraniṣedha and loss of life etc. would be conveyed by the statements. Again, the sentence, 'the sun has set' which is devoid of guṇa and alaṁkāra will fall outside the scope of Kāvya when judged by the definition of Mammaṭa; but this is untenable. For, in that case many pieces of compositions accepted as Kāvayas by the rhetoricians will not be accepted as such. In fact, Camatkāritva or flash of aesthetic pleasure is the very essence of poetry and it is in both the examples cited above. Moreover, the critics are not unanimous about the exact nature of guṇas and alaṁkāras and on account of the non-existence of the common attributes of the guṇas and of alaṁkaras, they cannot be the essence of Kāvya.

Similarly, Paṇḍitarāja criticises Mammaṭa for his use of the word 'adoṣau' in his definition of poetry. For a Kāvya totally free from blemishes is rarely met in the world. Again, there cannot be any lakṣaṇā in the expression 'duṣṭam kāvyaṁ' as there is no incompatibility of the primary meaning.

Next, rejecting the definition of poetry given by Viśvanātha, Paṇḍitarāja maintains it his definition (rasātmakaṁ vākyaṁ kāvyaṁ) is untenable. It excludes vastupradhāna and alaṁkārapradhāna kāvyas from the bulk of poetry. But this is against the established tradition of the poets. There are many beautiful poetic descriptions where there is no touch of any rasa, but they have been recognised as poetry. If on the other hand, those descriptions are said to have any touch of rasa, then sentences like 'the cow goes', 'the deer runs' etc., will have to be taken as having flavour which is impossible.

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Source of Kāvya

The discussion on the source of Kāvya forms an important part of Sanskrit poetics and all rhetoricians have treated this topic in their respective works. While all the writers accept imagination or creative genius (pratibhā) as the basic requisite of a poet, there is divergence of opinion regarding culture (vyutpatti) and practice (abhyāsa). Daṇḍin considers poetic genius, pure and vast learning and deep application as the equipments of a poet. Bhāmaha gives highest importance to imagination as the requisite of a poet (cf. kāvyaṁ tu jāyate jātu kasyacit pratibhāvataḥ, Kāvyalaṁkāra 1.5). But he also seems to lay stress on culture and practice in making a poet, Rudrata, the author of the Kāvyālaṁkāra considers poetic imagination, culture and practice jointly as the cause of poetry. Hemchandra[63] the Jaina writer of the twelveth century thinks imagination as the prime requisite of a poet and that culture and practice can polish and sharpen the imagination. Anandavardhana also attaches highest importance to Śakti and brings out the relative importance of śakti and vyutpatti in poetry by stating that 'the poet's imagination can work such a magic that shortcomings in taste and want of learning might remain un-noticed in particular contexts while the poetry of his imagination would at once invariably catch the attention of the readers.'[64] According to Kuntaka, poetic genius stands supreme in poetic creation. Whatever charm there be in poetry, all that originates from genius (kvaipratibhāprauḍhireva prādhānyenavatiṣṭate - Vakroktijīvita, p.13). Vāmana considers pratibhā as the sole germ of poetry; it is a kind of mental impression of former existence without which poetry does not originate and even if composed, it becomes an object of laughter only.[65] Rājaśekhara recognises the supremacy of the innate capacity of a poet, which according to him, is capable of giving rise to genius and proficiency. Mammaṭa however, regards poetic genius, knowledge born of the study of the worldly affairs and poetic literature and practice of the teachings of those well-versed in writing poetry as the necessary requisites in a person to become a poet.[66] He says that the assemblege of all these together and not singly, are the sine qua non of a poet.

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Though some of these rhetoricians hold the view that the threefold equipment of śakti, nipuṇatā and abhyāsa is necessary for making a poet, the consensus of opinions among them is that the creative imagination (pratibhā) is the primary requisite of a poet. Different alaṁkārikas have defined it in different manner, 'A precise and comprehensive definition of pratibhā or poetic imagination was laid down by Bhaṭṭa Ṭauta, the author of a work on poetics called Kāvya Kautuka (which is not extant now). This definition was reverentially accepted by Abhinavagupta in his Dhvanyālokalocana and his authority influenced all the succeeding writers such as Mammaṭa and others. The definition itself reads thus—'Poetic imagination is that gift of mind by whose aid one can visualise myriads of things anew.'[67] Abhinava's definition of pratibhā in his Locana runs thus: 'Pratibhā apūrvavastuniramāṇakṣamā prajnā'. Poetic genius is a consciousness capable of original invention. It is due to pratibhā that even old themes come to take new beauty like treess which put on new glory with the advent of the spring.[68] Thus pratibhā is the inventive capacity by virtue of which the poet gives vent to spontaneous expression to his feelings.

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja holds poetic genius (pratibhā) alone as the cause of poetry (tasya ca kāraṇaṁ kavigatā kevalā pratibhā, Rasagangādhara, p.9). He defines it as the flashing of appropriate words and meanings for composing a poem. This again originates from the threefold cause—firstly it may be due to adṛṣṭa which is possible by the grace of a deity or of saint. Secondly it may be caused by knowledge (vyutpatti) and thirdly by constant practice (abhyāsa). These three-adṛṣṭa, vyutpatti and abhyāsa are separately and individually considered to be the cause of poetic genius according to the tṛṇāramaṇinyāya but not jointly according to daṇḍacakrādinyāya.[69] For sometimes without abhyāsa and vyutpatti, poetic genius is seen in a child due to the grace of saints and others. In such case it is improper to conceive of knowledge and practice of previous existence. There is no convincing proof to establish that he had inborn impression or secret practice.

Rejecting the contention that mere fate is the source of poetic genius, Jagannātha says that sometimes a person wanting in poetic

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genius, is found unable to compose poetry, but after sometime the same person is seen to acquire the capacity to compose it by virtue of his knowledge and practice. Here, Paṇḍitarāja maintains, instead of supposing two-fold poetic genius, it is better to regard scholarship and practice as the source of genius.

Thus continuing, Jagannātha maintains that vyutpatti (scholarship) and abhyāsa (practice) are also the source of poetic genius. But there is a qualitative difference between the in-born genius and acquired genius and as such, quality of literature varies according to imagination or genius of the poets. Thus the composition of gifted poet will naturally be not equal to that of a poet who acquires genius through the grace of a deity or by the blessing of a saint.

Division of Kāvya

Against the traditional three-fold division of Kāvya of Mammaṭa, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja classifies it into four varieties —uttamottama, uttama, madhyama and adhama. Of these, the first variety occurs when the śabda (sound) and artha (expressed sense) making themselves subordinate, suggests a beautiful idea. Here, Paṇḍitarāja asserts that the word 'beautiful' (camatkṛti) is used to mean that class of poetry where the suggested sense is neither very implicit nor very explicit. Again, as the word and sense make themselves subordinate, those classes of poetry where the suggested idea is a part of sentiment or of the expressed sense,or if it helps only the expressed sense, will not be uttamottama Kāvya. As an illustration, the following verse is cited:

śayitā savidhepyaniśvarā saphalīkartumaho manorathāṅ/
dayitā dayitānanabujaṁ daramilannayanā nirīkṣate//

'Though lying by the side of her husband, the lovely woman, unable to satisfy her desire, looks at his lotus-like face with her eyes slightly closed'.

Here the nāyaka (hero) is the ālambanavibhāva, the lonely place as indicated by her sleeping close by her beloved is uddīpanavibhāva, her glances with her eyes slightly closed is the anubhāva, her modesty

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and eagerness are Vyabhicāribhāvas and through the conjunction of all them nāyika's love for her beloved is suggested.

Jagannātha rules out the possibility of suggestion of any sense other than rati in the example cited above. Against the contention that here nāyikā's desires to kiss her husband when he sleeps is suggested, Paṇḍitarāja maintains that the desire of the heroine to kiss her beloved is expressed by the general term 'monoratha'. It also cannot be said, Jagannātha asserts, that the word 'monoratha' expresses the desire in general, but the particular desire of the heroine to kiss her beloved is suggested. For, the suggested idea, when it is affected in a way by direct expression ceases to be the genuine suggested sense and a source of literary appeal.

Next, controverting the proposition that in the example cited above, modesty (trapā) of the heroine has been suggested and as such it is an instance of bhāvadhvani, Paṇḍitarāja maintains that 'trapā' is an adjunct of the subject and it cannot be the primary sense of the sentence. So it occupies a subordinate position only. If however, the glance of the heroine with her eyes half closed is supposed to be the predicate and modesty (trapā) also is not an adjunct of subject, then it can be a suggested sense. Against this possible proposition, Jagannātha states that this is not possible. For, slight closing of the eyes may be an act of rati only. If the suggestion of modesty is given the primary importance, the statement of the glances will lose all its significance. Just as the glances of the heroine have been expressed mainly by the 'abhidhā' and slightly closing of the eyes which is also the anubhāva of trapā, as a part of it, so also, the sentiment of love (i.e., rati) has been suggested mainly and trapā should be implied as a part of it. So it is not suggested mainly and cannot be an instance of bhāvadhvani. The second variety of poetry, namely the Uttama Kāvya has been defined by Paṇḍitarāja thus:

yatra vyangyamapradhānameva saccamātkārākaraṇaṁ tad dvitīyaṁ (Rasagangādhara)

That type of poetry in which the suggested idea, though subordinate to something (i.e., the expressed sense) becomes a source of pleasure, is the uttama Kāvya. Here in the definition the word 'eva' has

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been used to restrict the scope of this kind of poetry and so it will exclude those Kāvyas (suggestive of vastu and alaṁkāra) where the suggested element is subordinate to some other suggested sense but more prominent than the expressed sense. Such types of Kāvya should be recognised as Dhvani Kāvya. In the Citrakāvya also, the suggested sense remains submerged in the expressed sense and at no cost it becomes a source of delight. So this type of poetry will not overlap with Jagannātha's madhyama Kāvya. Showing the impropriety of the use of the term 'citranyātvaṁ' in Mammaṭa's definition of second variety of poetry, Paṇḍitarāja maintains that it cannot cover those species of poetry where the figures like paryāyokti, samāsokti etc. are predominant. But, as a matter of fact, in those species of poetry guṇībhūtavyangatva and citratva do exist. For illustrating the madhyama kavya, the following verse is cited by Jagannātha-

rāghavavirahajvālāsantāpitasahyaśailaśikhareṣu/
śiśire sukhaṁ śayānāḥ kapayaḥ kupyanti pavanatanayāya//

'The monkeys, sleeping happily in the cold winter season on the peak of the Sahya mountain heated by the flames of the fire-like grief of separation of Rāma, are angry with the son of wind-god'.

Here it has been suggested that Rāma's fire-like grief of separation is quenched by the happy message of Sīta's safely brought by Hanumat and this is subordinate to the expressed idea of monkey's wrath on Hanuman due to extreme cold on the peak of the Sahya mountain. But the suggested sense has its own beauty in its pathetic appeal to the connoisseur like a queen undergoing slavery due to evil luck. As MM. Kuppuswami admirably puts it— 'The whole pathos is to be found in the imprisonment of the suggested ideas. What is the cause of the pathetic appeal in queen who is in prison, of a glorious powerful empress who does not deserve to be thrown into prison and who is imprisoned for the moment, who is placed in the wrong place—the whole pathos of the situation, the whole appealing force of the situation is to be found in that it is a queen that is imprisoned here. It is the suggested idea, it is the suggested element that is imprisoned in the external.'[70] Here, though the suggested idea is subordinate to the

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expressed one, it is source of literary pleasure. This is Jagannātha's uttama Kāvya.

The third category of poetry of Jagannātha is the madhyama Kāvya which is defined by him thus: 'yatra vyangyacamatkārasamānādhik araṇo vācyacamatkārastattṛtīyaṁ,.' If in a poetry, the beauty of the expressed sense is not at par with that of the suggested sense, that means, if the beauty of the expressed sense becomes a source of pleasure independent of the beauty of the suggested sense, that is the third variety of poetry. This Jagannātha illustrates by the passage from his akhyāyaikā, Jamunā varṇana— 'tanayamainākagaveṣaṇalambīkṛtajaladhijatharaprav iṣta himagiri-bhujāyamānāya bhagvatyā bhāgīrathyāḥ sakhī.'

The river Jamunā, here, has been poetically fancied as a friend of the river Bhāgirathā (Ganges) which appears like the arm of the Himālaya extended into the heart of the ocean in search of his son Maināka. This is an example of utprekṣā and here the expressed sense is a source of pleasure. Though it has suggested such ideas like whiteness (śaitya) and the state of touching the Pātāla (pātālacumbitatvaṁ) they are shrouded by the beauty of the poetic fancy like the white colour on the person of a village maiden covered by the annointment of kumkuma produced in Kāsmir. The expressed sense itself is a charming one and is a source of pleasure without touching the suggested sense. In the uttama Kāvya, suggested sense is almost wide-awake and here in the Madhyama Kāvya, the suggested sense is in deep sleep as it were. All gunibhūtavyangas and alaṁkārapradhāna Kāvya will be included in these two varieties.

The fourth variety, i.e., the lowest variety of poetry is defined thus:

yatrārthacamatkṛtyupaskṛtā śabdacamatkṛtiḥ
pradhānaṁ tadadhamaṁ caturthaṁ (Rasagangādhara, p.23).

If in a poetry, the beauty of sound cherished through the beauty of sense is dominent, then it is called adhama Kāvya, the lowest variety. It is illustrated by the following verse-

mitrātriputranetrāya trayīśatravaśatrave/
gotrārigotrajatrāya gotrāte te namo namaḥ//

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been used to restrict the scope of this kind of poetry and so it will exclude those Kāvyas (suggestive of vastu and alaṁkāra) where the suggested element is subordinate to some other suggested sense but more prominent than the expressed sense. Such types of Kāvya should be recognised as Dhvani Kāvya. In the Citrakāvya also, the suggested sense remains submerged in the expressed sense and at no cost it becomes a source of delight. So this type of poetry will not overlap with Jagannātha's madhyama Kāvya. Showing the impropriety of the use of the term 'citranyātvaṁ' in Mammaṭa's definition of second variety of poetry, Paṇḍitarāja maintains that it cannot cover those species of poetry where the figures like paryāyokti, samāsokti etc. are predominant. But, as a matter of fact, in those species of poetry guṇībhūtavyangatva and citratva do exist. For illustrating the madhyama kavya, the following verse is cited by Jagannātha-

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'The monkeys, sleeping happily in the cold winter season on the peak of the Sahya mountain heated by the flames of the fire-like grief of separation of Rāma, are angry with the son of wind-god'.

Here it has been suggested that Rāma's fire-like grief of separation is quenched by the happy message of Sīta's safely brought by Hanumat and this is subordinate to the expressed idea of monkey's wrath on Hanuman due to extreme cold on the peak of the Sahya mountain. But the suggested sense has its own beauty in its pathetic appeal to the connoisseur like a queen undergoing slavery due to evil luck. As MM. Kuppuswami admirably puts it— 'The whole pathos is to be found in the imprisonment of the suggested ideas. What is the cause of the pathetic appeal in queen who is in prison, of a glorious powerful empress who does not deserve to be thrown into prison and who is imprisoned for the moment, who is placed in the wrong place—the whole pathos of the situation, the whole appealing force of the situation is to be found in that it is a queen that is imprisoned here. It is the suggested idea, it is the suggested element that is imprisoned in the external.'[70] Here, though the suggested idea is subordinate to the

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expressed one, it is source of literary pleasure. This is Jagannātha's uttama Kāvya.

The third category of poetry of Jagannātha is the madhyama Kāvya which is defined by him thus: 'yatra vyangyacamatkārasamānādhik araṇo vācyacamatkārastattṛtīyaṁ,.' If in a poetry, the beauty of the expressed sense is not at par with that of the suggested sense, that means, if the beauty of the expressed sense becomes a source of pleasure independent of the beauty of the suggested sense, that is the third variety of poetry. This Jagannātha illustrates by the passage from his akhyāyaikā, Jamunā vaṛnana— 'tanayamainākagaveṣaṇalambīkṛtajaladhijatharaprav iṣta himagiri-bhujāyamānāya bhagvatyā bhāgīrathyāḥ sakhī.'

The river Jamunā, here, has been poetically fancied as a friend of the river Bhāgirathā (Ganges) which appears like the arm of the Himālaya extended into the heart of the ocean in search of his son Maināka. This is an example of utprekṣā and here the expressed sense is a source of pleasure. Though it has suggested such ideas like whiteness (śaitya) and the state of touching the Pātāla (pātālacumbitatvaṁ) they are shrouded by the beauty of the poetic fancy like the white colour on the person of a village maiden covered by the annointment of kumkuma produced in Kāsmir. The expressed sense itself is a charming one and is a source of pleasure without touching the suggested sense. In the uttama Kāvya, suggested sense is almost wide-awake and here in the Madhyama Kāvya, the suggested sense is in deep sleep as it were. All gunibhūtavyangas and alaṁkārapradhāna Kāvya will be included in these two varieties.

The fourth variety, i.e., the lowest variety of poetry is defined thus:

yatrārthacamatkṛtyupaskṛtā śabdacamatkṛtiḥ
pradhānaṁ tadadhamaṁ caturthaṁ (Rasagangādhara, p.23).

If in a poetry, the beauty of sound cherished through the beauty of sense is dominent, then it is called adhama Kāvya, the lowest variety. It is illustrated by the following verse-

mitrātriputranetrāya trayīśatravaśatrave/
gotrārigotrajatrāya gotrāttre te namo namaḥ//

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The beauty in the verse lies in sound of words forming alliteration. Though there is charmingness in the sense conveyed by the words, it is subordinate to that of sound only. Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja rules out possibility of recognising a fifth variety of poetry having charm of sound but devoid of any charm of sense. That, according to him, would go against the general definition of his poetry. He also criticises Mammaṭa's three-fold division of poetry where the difference of the charms of sense and sound are not taken into consideration. He maintains that if this difference in the charm is not recognised, the distinction between dhvani and guṇībhūtavyanga is impossible. So poetry having the charms of both sound and sense should be classified on the basis of the predominence of one over the other. If however, the charms of sense and sound are at equal footing, that class of poetry should be brought under the third variety namely madhyama Kāvya.

Commentators on the Rasagangādhara

A brief reference to the commentators of the Rasagangādhara may not be out of place here. Though there is a large number of commentaries on other works on Sanskrit poetics, a very few commentaries are available on the Rasagangādhara. The cause of this is not far to seek. Most probably, very few scholars attempted to comment upon this last original treatise on account of its peculiar and difficult styles. But during the last sixty years many scholars have published many editions of the Rasagangādhara with their commentaries. The oldest available commentary on it is the Gurumaramaprakāśikā written by Nāgeśa who flourished in the beginning of eighteenth century.[71] He was a versatile scholar and wrote on a variety of subjects, though his contribution to the field of grammar and alaṁkāra is highest. His Gurumarmaprakāśikā is very short and in many places it has not touched the original. He was also not an impartial commentator; he supported Appaya and refuted the standpoint of Paṇḍitarāja. Another commentary Viṣamapadi by name is mentioned by Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum.[72] This is a gloss on the difficult words or phrases of the Rasagangādhara where the commentator tries to clear out the intricate and controversial topics of

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the text.[73] Among the modern scholars, the name of late Gangadhara Sastri deserves special mention who edited the Rasagangādhara from Benaras with his illuminating notes in the first few pages of his book. Pandit Mathurānāth Sastri published the Rasagangādhara from Bombay with his own new commentary Saralā by name. This commentary is not very elaborate but it helps the student to understand many intricate problems of the texts. Recently many editions of the text have come out from Benaras with Sanskrit commentaries. Among them mention may be made of Madhusudanī by Sāhityāchārya Sri Madhusudan Sastri and the 'Chandrikā' by Pandit Badarinath Jha. Dr. Sandhya Bhaduri's edition of the Rasagangādhara (first ānana only) is an original contribution and throws a flood of light on many controveralal points. Though it is a doctoral thesis, written in Bengali, it is a lucid exposition of the text and the author has explained many points with the help of both eastern and western criticism.

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THREE

JAGANNATH'S CONCEPTION OF RASA

Origin and Development of the Concept

The doctrine of rasa is an outstanding contribution towards Aesthetics and has been acknowledged as the guiding-principle in Indian literary criticism. Indian tradition connects the name of Vālmīki with the conception of rasa. He is universally recognised not only as the discoverer of new metrical forms but of rasa also. We have no knowledge about any critic existing in the pre-Vālmīki age. But there must have been a systematic study of rasa in pre-Vālmīki period since he has recognised the nine rasas of Bharata in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bāla Kānda, Ch. IV,9). However, rasa has been accepted as the most essential principle of poetry since Adikavi Vālmīki's times, though theoretical speculations on its varieties and multiplicity, on its proper aesthetic representation etc. began a bit late.

Bharata is universally accepted as the oldest exponent of the rasa-theory. He attaches highest importance to rasa in poetry and similarly holds the view that no dramatic representation is possible without the

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suggestion of rasa.[1] So in the sixth chapter of his Nātyaśāstra, he enunciates his famous rasa-sūtra—'tatra vibhāvanubhāvyabhicārisaṁyogad rasaniṣpattiḥ.' This sūtra has become Mona Lisa's smile in the history of Sanskrit criticism. Many later writers have given various interpretations of the sūtra on the basis of various systems of Indian philosophy. But the Nātyāśastra was composed with an eye to the dramatic representation and so rasa was not the principal theme of Bharata. He dealt with rasa only in relation with the dramatic art with which he was mainly concerned. So Rājaśekhara on the basis of some current traditions said that Bharata was the original exponent of drama and Nandikeśwara was that of rasa-doctrine.[2] There is ground to believe that during Bharata's times, the dramaturgic rasa school was fully established and Bharata borrowed and worked it up into his system. In the Nātyaśāstra, there are many verses cited as anuvamśya in the sixth and seventh chapters. Dr. P.V. Kane[3] believes that these were composed by unknown scholars and were handed down from father to son or from teacher to pupil, and Bharata incorporated them in the Nātyaśāstra. A great controversy centred round his well-known rasa-sūtra and different commentators like Lollata, Śankuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka and Abhinavagupta offered different interpretations. Ancient writers discussed the rasa-sūtra in relation with the dramatic literature. They also did not take rasa as the central point of their discussion, nor the relation of rasa to poetry was systematically dealt by them. It is, however, Anandavardhana who brought out the importance of rasa in poetry in his epoch-making work Dhvanyāloka. He extended the rasa-theory to the province of poetry which was restricted to drama only. He not only mentioned the name of Bharata but also considered both drama and poetry as one variety in relation to rasa (cf. 'etacca rasāditātparyeńa kāvyanibandhānāṃ bharatādavápi suprasiddhameva', Dhv. Vṛtti on 3.32). He also maintains that the chief centre of appeal in poetry is rasa or aesthetic sentiment. He writes-vṛttayo hi rasāditātparyena sannivesitāḥ kāmapi nātyasya kāvyasya ca cchāyāmavahanti/rasādayo hi dvayorapi tayorjīvabhūtāḥ/Dhv. vṛitti on 3/35). Thus Anandavardhana accepts the dramaturgic rasa-theory of Bharata as applicable to poetry and attaches highest importance to rasa theory declaring it as the very

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life of poetry. To speak in the word of Dr. Krisnamoorthy—'Rasa, in short, endows eternity of interest and charm to subjects otherwise limited and circumscribed. Even like trees in spring, well-known themes put on a charm and splendour altogether new and fresh, when they are associated with rasa. That is why Anandavardhana appeals to the poets never to become indifferent to consideration of rasa while writing their works.'[4]

Though Anandavardhana is the first to deal systematically with the relation of rasa to poetry in general, other ancient writers on poetics like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana also have appreciated the importance of rasa in poetry. Daṇḍin in his kāvyādarśa 1.18 says that a mahākāvya should be abounding in rasas and bhāvas. But as he is an exponent of alaṁkāra theory, he holds that it is literary embellishments which impart pleasantness to the expressed idea.[5] He treats rasas in connection with the figure rasavat and according to him rasa is an alaṁkāra only. Bhāmaha also adopted the rasa-sūtra of Bharata in his definition of Mahākāvya and he stated that it should contain separately the various rasas.[6] This led Dr. Krishnamoorthy to conjecture that Bhāhama and Daṇḍin had before them the great epics of Vyāsa and Vālmīki and their definitions of poetry were in accordance with these two Epics.[7] Vāmana was an upholder of rīti theory. He considered rasa not as an alaṁkāra, but as a guṇa, namely Kānti, which is defined by him Kāvyalāṁkāra sūtra vṛtti thus-

'dīptarasatvaṁ kāntiḥ'

He also was aware of dramaturgic rasa theory of Bharata. For he attached highest importance to ten rūpakas among the Kāvyas.[8] These writers were influenced by the rasa-theory of Bharata but they considered drama as a separate class of composition and so they did not deal with them. It was, however, Rudrata who made a departure from his predecessors in treating rasa in his Kāvyālaṁkāra. Although he was an advocate of alaṁkāra school, he was influenced by the rasa school and felt the necessity of dealing with rasa separately. Dr. De[9] considers Rudrata as a supporter of alaṁkāra school on the basis of the statement of Ruyyaka-

'rudratenāpi bhāvālaṁkārah dvidhaivoktāh/

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rūpakādīpakapahnutitulyayogitādaubupamalaṁkaro vācyopaskārakatvena uktaḥ/ rasavatpreyaūrjsvipravṛtau rasabhāvādirvacyasobhahetutvenoktaḥ/ utprekṣā tu svayameva pratīyamānā kathitā/tadittham tribidhamapi pratīyamanamahṁkāratayakhypitameva/

(Alaṁkārasarasvaṁ, ed. by Kumari S.S. Janaki, p.8).

It must be admitted that Rudrata's treatment of rasa opens new path for the later theorists. In fact it is he who paved the way for Dhvanikāra to deal with rasa in his Dhvanayāloka.

In the eleventh century, Abhinavagupta the greatest Kasmirian philosopher and rhetorician wrote his Abhinavabhāratī and while interpreting Bharata's dramaturgic rasa-sūtra, declares that the dramaturgic and Kāvya-rasa is virtually one and the same. In his Abhinavabhāratī, he writes—na nātye eva rasaḥ, kavyeṗi, nātyayamāna eva rasaḥ/kāvyārtha viṣaye hi pratyakṣakalpasamvedenodaye rasodaye ityupadhyāyaḥ/ (Abhinavabhārati, ed. by Dr. Nagendra, p. 504). In support of his own statement Abhinava quotes his teacher Bhaṭṭatauta.[10] From this, it is evident that even before Abhinavagupta, writers on Alaṁkāraśāstra discussed the doctrine of rasa and its applicability to poetry. They came to the conclusion that Kāvyarasa and Nātyarasa were virtually one. Later on we get several works expounding the theory of rasa after the Nātyaśāstra, the most important of which are Śṛngāraprakāśa, Dasarūpaka, Sṛngāratilaka, Bhāvaprakāśa, etc.

Bharata's Rasasutra

Bharata's famous rasa formula[11] in the Nātyaśāstra is the corner stone on which Indian aesthetic theory is based. According to this formula, 'rasa presents itself to our experience when vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicaribhāvas combine'. The word 'saṁyoga' in the sūtra has given rise to a great deal of controversy about the nature of its interpretation. However without entering into controversy, it can be said that Bharata himself took the word 'saṁyoga' in the sense of combinations and according to him rasa results from bhāvas and not vice versa (cf. dṛśyate hi bhāvebhyo rasānāmabhinirvṛttiḥ, na tu rasebhyo bhāvānāmabhinirvrttiriti'-Hindi Abhinavabharati Dr. Nagendra, p.510).

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The term 'rasa' primarily means taste or relish. Bharata applies the term in the field of dramatic criticism. So rasa, according to him, is aesthetic relish. It is a complex process where the whole range of psycho-physical responses of a man are involved.[12] It is an organic unity where the vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas combine to rouse sthāyibhāvas and connoisseurs relish an aesthetic pleasure which is called rasa. Bharata attempts to bring out this conception by some worldly instances.[13] He says that rasa is so called because it is an aesthetic enjoyment. 'Just as persons who partake of food prepared with many condiments (such as jaggery, curds, cardamom, camphor, marica) taste many flavours and feel pleasure and delight, so spectators relish sthāyibhāvas suggested by various bhāvas, acting, recitation etc. and enjoy delight and therefore, are called nātyarasas.'[14] This above quoted Bharata's rasa-sūtra is the foundation on which different theories on rasa are based and it is admitted by all rhetoricians that the latent sentiment becomes potent as relishable condition when activated and developed by vibhāva, anubhāva and vyabhicārivbhāva. Now before giving the different interpretations of Bharata's formula, a clear understanding of the technical terms is essential.

There are eight basic mental states. They lie dormant in the minds of connoisseurs who go to see a theatrical performance or to read a poem. When proper stimuli in the form of dance, music and words in case of a dramatic show and music of words in reading poetry, activate these basic mental states, they in turn lead to sentiments which are consciously savoured by people of taste.These sentiments are called 'sthāyi' because they exist prior to the aesthetic situation as an abiding but latent reality in our mental background. That is why some modern writers have translated them as 'permanent mood' or 'basic mental states'. Bharata assigns reasons why they are called 'sthāyin' in the following lines—'yathā narendro bahujanaparivārōpi sa eva nāma labhyate nānyaḥ sumahānapi puruṣah tathā vibhāvanubhāvavyabhicāriparivṛtaḥ sthāyi bhāvo rasa nāma labhayate. bhavati cātra ślokaḥ—'

yathā narāṇaṁ nṛpatiḥ śiṣyanaṁ ca yathāguruḥ/
evaṁ hi sarvabhāvānaṁ bhāvaḥ sthāyi mahāniha//

(Nātyaśāstra, G.O.S. ed VIIpp. 350-51).

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Bharata emmerates eight sthyāibhāvas namely, rati (love), hāsya (laughter), śoka (sorrow), krodha (anger), utsāha (enthusiasm), bhaya (fear), jugupsā (repugnance) and vismaya (wonder). Other critics have added a nineth one—nirveda too. Krishna Chaitanya in his Sanskrit Poetics (p.4.), has shown how the eight sthayibhāvas of Bharata correspond to six passions of Descartes. According to him, they are admiration, love, hate, desire, joy, and sorrow. Others are derivatives of these.

Vibhāva—Vibhāvas are the medium through which the permanent moods like rati, hāsa, etc. are roused to a relishable condition. They are, however, not in the relation of cause and effect with the permanent moods (sthāyibhāvas). When they are presented on the stage, they can stimulate the sthāyibhāvas. So Dr. K.C. Pandey[15] rightly considers the vibhāvas as dramatic situations. They are not the cause but are the mediums through which emotions are expressed by the actor and experienced by the spectator. The vibhāvas are related to the sthāyibhāva in the same way as 'letters' of a word are related to the 'meaning'. The relationship between the two is not casual or causational, but expressional. According to Bharata also, vibhāvas are thee focus of cognition. They render the permanent moods capable of being sensed through three kinds of representations, that is, words, bodily behaviour and emotional display. There are two types of vibh- ,a)vas -ālambana vibhāva and uddīpana vibhāva. The ālambana vibhāva is the basic stimulas which is primarily responsible for the arousal of emotion. It is on them that emotions depend for their very existence. The uddīpana vibhāva is the enhancing stimulas; they are so called because they encourage the intensity of permanent moods. The environment or the surrounding stimulating emotion will fall in the category of vibhāvas. Thus in case of erotic sentiment the lady or the heroine will be an ālmbana vibhāva and spring season, moon-rise or garden etc. the uddīpana vibhāvas.

Anubhāva — Anubhāva are the results of the excitations or are the psycho-physical reactions on the spectator. They are indicative of the emotions in the hero or heroine in a dramatic presentation. The perception of the excitation is transferred from the characters to the

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spectators by sympathetic induction. They are called anubhāvas because they cause the spectators experience the basic emotion of the hero or the heroine presented on the stage by different devices of communication. According to Dhananjaya they are the external manifestations[16] of the basic emotion working within. So they are the products of permanent moods produced in the hero or heroine in the development of a dramatic situations. Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja treats these anubhāvas as effects of the permanent moods. He derives the word thus—'anu pāścadbhāva utpattiryeṣāṁ/anubhāvayantīti vā vyutpatteḥ'(Rasagangādhara, p.38). So in Paṇḍitarāja's view the anubhāvas are the after-effects of the permanent moods expressed on the stage; they help to arouse in us rati or other bhāvas existing in objects of experience. Thus, anubhāvas are the voluntary expression; they are nothing but the psycho-physical changes on account of the rise of emotion. They belong to that class of voluntary expression which can be produced by an effort of will. But there are some other kind of changes in excitement which are brought out automatically without any effort of will. They are involuntary expressions and Bharata calls them sāttvikabhāvas. In case of these bhavas also, the mind is bound to be affected. Bharata admits eight sāttvikabhāvas in his Nāṭyaśastra.[17]

Vyabhicāribhāva—Vyabhicāribhāva is a functional nomenclature. They are that class of feelings which are transistory in nature. They are called as such because they are susceptible to any other permanent dispositions. 'As they can move along freely with any other strong emotion, they are otherwise termed as sancāribhāvas as well.[18] According to the Daśarūpaka, vyabhicāribhāvas are like the waves of the ocean which rise above and go down in the process of developing of bhāva.[19] Although they are mental states, they may be reacted out in befitting manner in a befitting situation and then the audience or reader would feel their occurrence. Bharata enumerates thirty three vyabhicāribhāvas and almost all later canonists follow Bharata in this respect. But Paṇḍitarāja sees that there are many such other mental states or feelings not included in Bharata's list. So he does not rule out the possibility of new additions in the list of Bharata.[20]

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Jagannātha's Theory of Rasa

Jagannātha's theory of rasa is the most important topic in his Rasagangādhara. As he is the last interpreter of Bharata's rasasūtra, his theory has a value of its own. Before giving his own theory of rasa, Jagannātha furnishes the succint summary of the views of his predecessors like Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, Bhaṭṭa Lollata, Bhaṭṭanāyaka and Shrī Śankuka. He, however, is greatly influenced by Abhinavagupta and his own view appears to be an exact paraphrase of Abhinava's commentary on Bharata's famous rasa-sūtra. In his Rasagangādhara, Paṇḍitarāja enumerates eleven interpretations. Of these eleven, we do not know the source of seven views. Pandit Madan Mohan Jha in his introduction of Hindi Rasagangādhara (p.29) conjectures that these views on rasa-realisation are invented by Paṇḍitarāja himself. We shall examine here these views and shall try to assess the contributions made by our author in aesthetics. As he was a strong supporter of Abhinavagupta, we shall first have a glance over the view of Abhinavagupta as interpreted by Paṇḍitarāja.

Rasa, according to Abhinavagupta is nothing but the basic mental state universalised and relished by the Sahṛdaya. The basic mental states remain in latent form in the minds (hearts) of the sāmājikas; at the time of relish they are revived. Thus in poetry, vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas are depicted through beautiful and faultless diction, or in a drama they are depicted through various kinds of abhinayas, and through this depiction sthāyibhāva is suggested. Though, of course, Sīta or any other heroine is the subject of the permanent mood rati; glances etc. are its effects and bashfulness, eagerness etc. are auxiliaries and all these are related to some 'specific' or 'personal' connection and still by them, basic mental states cannot be aroused. These are to be impersonalised or universalised or generalised in the mind of the sāmājika by virtue of the power of suggestion. Then it is relished by the inner self of the responsive critic and this is called rasa.

Quoting Mammaṭa,[21] Jagannātha says that sthāyibhāva manifested by vibhāva and other is rasa. What is meant by the term 'vyaktaḥ' in the definition is the object of suggestion too which is again nothing but the removal of the curtain from Cit or Chaitanya. Just as a light,

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its cover or curtain being lifted up, illumines itself and other object around it, so also the self, when its veil of ignorance is removed, reveals itself and sthāyibhāvas together with vibhāvas, anubhāvas etc. Now permanent moods like rati and others are mental properties and so there is obstruction of their being revealed by ātma chaitanya. But, how can the vibhāvas, anubhāvas be revealed by eternal consciousness ? In anticipation of such a question Jagannātha states that vibhāvs, anubhāvas are presented to the mind; they appear as mental properties and like unreal objects seen in dreams, they too become self-luminious. The taste of these vibhāvas, anubhāvas etc. leads to the removal of the cover of obstruction, which is veil of ignorance, from the eternal consciousness. This removal of the veil of ignorance is the realisation of rasa, which is always in our consciousness but we can not realise it because of the veil. Permanent moods are not produced in the mind of sāmājika, nor do they perish. They are always therein, so rasas also cannot be produced, nor they perish. They are so called by lakṣaṇā. Clarifying this point, Paṇḍitarāja says that, though letters are eternal, the organs of the mouth, which are instrumental in pronouncing them are non-eternal; this characteristic of the organs by which letters are uttered is ascribed upon the letters also. As Paṇḍit Badrinath Jhā rightly observes– 'yathā vaiyākaraṇādimate' 'utpanno gakāraḥ' 'vinaṣṭo gakāraḥ' ity ādipratītigocarayorutpatti-vināśayornityesu varṇesu vastutoasaṁ/bhavāt tadvynjakakanthatālvadivyāpāresu ca sambhavādāropaḥ tathaiva rasādisu nityesu utpanno rasaḥ 'vinaṣṭe rasaḥ' ityādipratītigocara-yorutpattivinā s a y o r a s ādivyanjikāyām vibhāvādicarvaṇāyāṁ vidyāmānayoscarvaṇaviṣayabhūteṣu rasādisvaropa ityarthaḥ' (Hindi Rasagangādhara, Part I, pp. 92-93).

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja interprets the rasa-theory of Abhinavagupta in the light of the Vedanta theory of the Advaita school of Śaṅkara. In this view, there is no necessity of assuming a bhāvanā vyāpāra and even without the assumption of such a function rasa is interpreted as being suggested. Thus by reading a poem, the reader with poetic susceptibility first understands the meanings of words and then, there is the cognition of the vibhāva, anubhāva and vyabhicāribhāva. Again the sympathetic

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reader is highly influenced by those vibhāvas, amubhāvas etc. by their carvaṇā and by the operation of suggestion, his feelings in consciousness is liberated from any involvement of ego. It becomes impersonal and detached and in such a supreme moment the mind with the permanent moods being freed from the veil of ignorance, attains the state of supreme bliss. This state of the mind is identical with the self-consciousness. In other words, the sahṛdaya is totally merged in pure bliss or ānanda. The state of his mind can be well-compared with that of Yogin in savikalpa samādhi when in his consciousness supreme bliss prevails alone.

Our intellect is essentially below 'chaitanya'. It has pleasure as its property but no permanent bliss. Transcendental bliss is chaitanya itself. When chaitanya is made reflected in a medium of intellectual mood, the latter appears to be conscious and blissful. Such a perfect reflection cannot be caught by an ordinary intellect. When the intellect is purged off all impurities arising from rajas and tamas and preponderates in sattva element, then it would be the fit medium for catching the reflection of transcendental consciousness-cum-bliss.

Giving Abhinavagupta's view on rasa, Jagannātha tries to come to a conclusive view: Caitanya (transcendental consciousness) itself with its veil of ignorance removed and further circumscribed by permanent mood such as emotion of rati etc., is rasa. Emotions are adjuncts to transcendental consciousness unveiled. They are directly revealed in the process of unveiling of the consciousness and in this process there is a mysterious experience of transcendental consciousness as tinged by emotion. This experience is unique; it is a class by itself. In order to substantiate his view he recites some Upaniṣadic sentences. There are other sentences which seem to contradict his view. He reconciles this conflicting passage of the Upaniṣad and establishes his view on solid ground. Then he distinguishes his view from that of the great aesthetician Abhinavagupta. He maintains that rasas, according to Abhinavagupta is the permanent emotions like rati etc., illumined by transcendental consciousness unveiled of ingnorance. But whether rasa is an attribute of self or substantive, it is always self-luminous and eternal. When we judge the realisation of rasa from the view point of the permanent moods like rati etc., then it can be shown that rasa is

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non-eternal and itarabhāṣya (revealed by others). In association with Caitanya, it is eternal and self-luminous. The removal of the veil from caitanya leads to carvaṇā or relish of rasa. This experience is something uncommon. It is different from the experience of the Supreme Soul in religious meditation. The aesthetic pleasure is characterised by laukika vibhāva, anubāva etc. and is possible through the power of suggestion. But the spiritual joy is pure joy and is possible through śrvaṇa manana and nividhyāsana. To quote Dr. Nagendra—'Whereas spiritual joy is an absolute experience of the supreme self, aesthetic pleasure has a material basis invariably. This material basis is extremely refined; it is an impersonal or universalised experience also is, in the ultimate analysis, a material experience and not a spiritual experience like a yogic experience or the experience of religious meditation. It is a state of sublimation, a liberated state of the psyche, but it does not transcend the psyche.[22]

Bhaṭṭalollata's View

According to Bhaṭṭa Lollata, when vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas are described by the poet or staged vividly by mimic and they co-operate together and in their conjunction, rasa is produced. Thus according to him, the dominant emotion like rati etc. is produced by ālambana vibhāvas like Rāma, Sīta, etc., is enkindled by uddīpana vibhāvas like gardens, breeze, moon light and others and is revealed and heightened by anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas respectively. In this way sthāyibhāvas being produced by vibhāvas and fostered by vyabhicāribhāvas become a matter of experience and this is relished as rasa. Though according to this view, the relation between the vibhāva and sthāyibhāva is that of the produced and producer and the relation between the sthāyibhāva and vyabhicāribhāva is that of the cherished and cherisher, still production or utpatti is the central point here and without it, neither pratīti of rasa nor its nourishment is possible. So this view is known as utpattivāda.[23] The abiding emotions like rati etc. when carried to maturity by vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas produce rasa. It primarily belongs to the hero like Rāma; but it is attributed to the actor who imitates the action of the hero by various kinds of actings. This imitation by the actor becomes a source of

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pleasure for the audience who realise rasa through jñānalakṣaṇā.[24] Mānikyachandra, therefore, rightly concludes the view of Bhaṭṭa Lollata thus: vibhāvairjanitonubhāvaiḥ pratītim nīto vyabhicārivirupacito mukhyaya vṛttyanukārye tadrūpatanusandhānādanukartaryapi pratiya mānaḥ sthāyi bhāve rasa iti/ vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicārisaṁjogātsthāyi paripuṣṭo rasatāṁ yātīti tātparyaṁ (Kāvyaprakāsh, p. 41). But this view of Lollata is not tenable at all. True character of aesthetic experience cannot be supported by this theory. Moreover, vibhāvas as Mammaṭa holds, cannot be efficient cause of rasa. For, we know that in nimitta kāraṇa, an action remains even after the efficient cause is destroyed. But on the other hand, there cannot be realisation of rasa if there are no vibhāvas and anubhāvas. So vibhāvas and anubhāvas cannot be the efficient cause of rasa. They also cannot be regarded as communicative mark (jñāpaka-kāraṇa) for a communicative mark is possible only when the thing communicated exists there. But, as a matter of fact, rasa does not exist before; it is suggested by vibhāvas and others and then it is enjoyed by the people having poetic taste. Another objection to this theory is that it fails to explain how rasa produced in the actor can arise in the mind of the spectator.

Śankuka's View

Propounding the theory of rasānumiti, Shrī Śankuka holds that rasa is not produced but it is a matter of inference. The clever actor by his skilful acting imitates the character and exhibits vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas by his instruction, proficiency and practice. From these, the spectator is led to infer that dominant mood which exists in the actor. Although vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas are artificial, they produce an illusion of reality and are supposed to belong to the hero whom the actor personates. From this the spectator relishes the permanent emotions like rati, hāsa etc. by the process of inference. 'This inferred basic mental state, because it is simply and imitation of a real basic mental state of real hero, such as Rāma, and because it is associated with the enchanting situation, adds to itself a peculiar charm and develops into an enjoyable condition of the spectator's mind. It is called Rasa because of its enjoyability.[25]' This interpretation of

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Bharata's famous rasa-sūtra by Shrī Śankuka is after the Nyāya Philosophy and is also an 'anumitivāda'.

But this theory is also defective like the previous one. Vividness, immediacy and intensity of aesthetic experience cannot be explained by this theory. It does not consider that the permanent moods which are relished as rasa, are there in the sāmājikas. But how can sāmājikas experience aesthetic pleasure if rasa is not produced in their own hearts? Again inferred perception or cognition of an object cannot produce the same charm, the same aesthetic pleasure as direct perception can.[26]

Bhaṭṭanāyaka's View on Rasa

Bhaṭṭanāyaka rejects the theories of rasotpatti and rasāmumiti of Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka respectively which are based on the assumption that permanent moods exist in the actor or in the original character whom the actor personates and not in the spectator.

A spectator or a reader cannot relish rasa if it is not personal at all, nor it is possible to cognise it as related to his individuality; for, Śakuntalā and others cannot be the vibhāvas for the spectator. Again without generating agents no realisation of rasa can take place. It also cannot be said that Śakuntalā should be taken as a beloved (kāntā) in a general sense of the term. A kāntā (beloved) can be vibhāva in erotic sentiment only when there is definite proof to show that there is no social or psychological barrier in mutual relationship with her. Otherwise sisters and other relations also should be vibhāvas, which is objectionable in the eye of social decorum. Besides, it is not possible for the ordinary reader or the spectator to identify himself with the hero like Duṣyanta. No sensible person can consider himself to be the hero like Duṣyanta who was a king and was possessed of extra-ordinary virtues, while he himself is a 'little man' of street. Again the realisation of rasa is not possible from mere words alone. Mere information of the hero and the heroine from a conversation will not be source of relishing at all. Nor it is possible mentally, for, there is a gulf of difference between the realisation of rasa and the cognition of the

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vibhāvas and others brought by memory or contemplation. The cognition of emotion does not occur due to recollection, for, he did not feel such vibhāvas. So the views of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa and Śankuka are not tenable.

Rejecting these former two theories, Bhaṭṭanāyaka expounds the theory of Rasa-bhukti. According to this view, poetic language has its powers—abhidhā, bhāvakatva and bhojakatva. The vibhāvas and anubhāvas are conveyed by abhidhā. Bhāvakatva removes the individual characteristics of the vibhāvas which are obstacles on the path of the realisation of rasa. In other words, vibhāvas likeṣ Śakuntalā and Sītā become free from all their individual relationships like space, time, age and other conditions and are presented as lovely women (Kāntās). She represents not an individuality but an universal 'form' of female beauty. Then the sahṛdaya finds no scope for cognising Śakuntalā as agamyā or unreachable. Thus universalising the aesthetic objects, the power bhāvakatva becomes ineffectual and then by virtue of the third power namely bhojakatva, the two guṇas—rajas and tamas become completely suppressed in the mind of the sāmājikas and the third guṇa satva is rendered more prominent. In that serene state, the mind is not touched by any conflicting thoughts and the self with its blissful consciousness enjoys the sthāyibhāva like rati etc. This is called rasa. This enjoyment on account of its touch with subject (Viṣaya) is akin to the bliss of realising the Supreme Self but not identical with it. Actually Bhaṭṭanāyaka's view differs from that of Abhinavagupta on the point that it admits another power namely bhāvakatva. Bhoga of Nāyak is parallel to suggestion or vyañjnā of Abhinavagupta.

As stated above, Paṇḍitaraja elucidates eleven views on rasa in total. Of them, four views have been examined already. But he also mentions two views—first is that of the navyas and the second belonging to another school of neo-aesthetics. The actual source of these two views are not known to us. Nor any rhetorician has tried to find out their origin. However, we propose to give the summary of these two views.

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The View of the Navyas

In poetry and drama, vibhāvas, anubhāvas etc. are expressed by the poet and the actor respectively and by the operation of vyañjanā, Duṣyanta's love for Śakuntalā is suggested. Then, due to the predominance of defective discrimination, the sāmājika forgets his own identity and vicariously considers himself to be the hero like Duṣyanta which is an illusion like idea of silver in 'śukti'. As a result of this illusion, there arises in him 'anirvacaniya' love for Śakuntalā. Then this love culminates in an impersonal experience and this experience is called rasa-experience. According to this view the rasa-experience is a creation of illusion like the creation of śukti-rajata. So it is the result of a defective discrimination. When that defect will be removed, there would not be any rasa-pratīti. The pleasure that one derives from rasa-pratiti, is a transcendental one and so, this experience is a blissful condition. It is also vyangya because the sthāyibhāvas like rati and others are conveyed through vyañjanā. In the realisation of erotic sentiment, when Duṣyanta's love for Śakuntalā is depicted, the sāmājika identifies himself with Duṣyanta and the personal nature of Duṣyanta is totally shrouded and as such the love that the sāmājika enjoys is anirvacaniya. The reader or the audience neither enjoys Duṣyanta's love nor he considers himself as Duṣyanta. On the other hand, by cutting its relationship with individual Duṣyanta, a different type of love is produced which is enjoyed by the reader and the audience. Unless a defect is assumed at the very root of the realisation of rasa, no explanation can be offered how the personal nature of Duṣyanta is shrouded in the depiction of his love for Śakuntalā. If however a defect is presupposed, it can well-explain the fact how the reader can identify himself with Duṣyanta. Thus, due to the defective discrimination, the reader or the audience as the case may be, solely identifies himself with the hero like Duṣyanta; the heroine, like Śakuntalā, is also presented in his mind in her universalised form.

Now the point at issue is how will the tragedy be relishable ? If the actor or a spectator realises rasa after the identification of his own self with that of the hero, then the sorrow of the hero should also touch the mind of the sāmājika as well. It cannot be said that one experiences

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pain in real situation only, but there is no pain in an imaginary tragedy. The aesthetic experience of tragic emotions, too, is a pleasant one. Even the sheding of tears at the experience of tragic emotion is caused by pleasure and not by pain. So the devotees shed tears hearing the description of God though there is no touch of slightest pain. Similarly experiencing the tragic sentiment where the reader identifies himself with the tragic character Daśaratha, who suffers from the grief of separation from his son is a pleasant one. In fact, poetry has a supermundane action where even the unpleasant things like grief, sorrow, etc. produce transcendental pleasure. This is something extra-ordinary. It is a specific and unique pleasure different from all sorts of pleasure, material as well as spiritual. It is also produced by contemplation of the meanings of poetry. Thus ultimately rasa-experience depends upon the action of poetry (kāvyavyāpara).

This theory is based on a bold assumption which is not founded upon facts. Universal impersonal illusory experience cannot be equated with aesthetic experience, since illusory experience is always subjective and personal and so it is a private property. Aesthetic experience is impersonal and transcends the narrow circle of ego. It is experienced by all spectators with poetic sensibility simultaneously. The magical power of some of our inner organs has been assumed like deus ex-machina to solve all problems concerning aesthetic experience. It proves nothing but assumes everything. This so-called explanation of the navyas is nothing but a masked assumption.

The View of Another School of Neo-aesthetics

Stating the view of another school of neo-aesthetics, Jagannātha maintains that the advocates of this school recognise neither the power of vyañjanā nor any anirvacaniya love etc., but they hold that the sāmājika while reading poetry or witnessing a dramatic show, identifies himself with the hero like Duṣyanta and others due to the predominance of defective discrimination as accepted by the navyas. Then by the feeling of oneness with Duṣyanta and others, which results from the contemplation of the purport of poetry, he considers himself as Duṣyanta having love for Śakulntalā (Duṣyanto'haṁ śakuntalā-

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viṣayakaratimān). This kind of apprehension of the transcendantal rati in the mind of the sāmājika itself is rasa. Although such kind of attitude is possible in dream also, this does not originate from the contemplation of kāvyārtha and so there is no aesthetic pleasure. In actual sense-perception, there must be the object of knowledge with which our sense-organ must come in contact with: but the realisation of rasa is an illusion and so there may not be rati or other permanent emotions in the sāmājika. Just as in illusion, a rope is mistaken to be a snake, though in reality, there is no snake, in rasa-apprehension also, the sāmājika identifies himself with Duṣyanta who loves Śakuntalā, due to illusion. Though this direct attitude of the mind demands contact with the objective world, it is illusory in nature and does not demand any external object. It is the emotion like rati and others which are experienced by the aesthetic and hence, secondarily, rasa is also said to be experienced (cf. rativiṣayakatvāt āsvādasya rasaviṣayakat-ravyavahāraḥ odanaṁ pacatītivat aupacārikaḥ - Kāvyatattva Samīkṣā, p. 209).

This theory is also unsatisfactory. It restates the view of the navyas in an amended form. So the criticism which is generally levelled against the view of the navyas is applicable to this view too. Dr. N.N. Chaudhury rightly observes—'asminnapi mate svasmin duṣyantabheda-bodhasya ratimātraprakāraka bodhasya ca bhrāntatvena prāguktaduṣyantajātaṁ asmadupadarsitaṁ vajralepāyate/sarvathā rasasya vibhramatmakatve sahṛdayanāṁ tatvapakṣapātināṁ kāvyanātyānuś-ilane pravṛttiraśraddheya bhavati/ ata idaṁ matadvayaṁ nāsmākaṁ cetasi camatkāramāviṣkaroti'-Kāvyatattva Samīkaṣā, p. 209).

In addition to these views, Jagannātha records another five views on rasa (Rasagangādhara, p. 34). In these views, there has been a confusion with regard to the exact nature of rasa. So they do not stand the critical examination. The last three views again are quite contradictory to Bharata's rasa-sūtra and so they may be outrightly rejected. Vibhāvas are actually some objects and individuals; they cannot be rasa. Similarly anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas themselves are not rasa. Rasa is suggested by vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas jointly and not singly. Dr. N.N. Chaudhury has rightly remarked that though under

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special circumstances rasa is suggested by vibhāva, anubhavas or vyabhicaribhāva separately, the remaining two also should be present in the background.[27]

Though the source of these absurd views are not known to us, it can be assumed that there prevailed abject confusion about the nature of rasa. Dr Raghavan[28] quotes such contradictory views from the Locana and has remarked thus - 'That some considered the drama itself as Rasa, some others vibhāvas alone as Rasa, still others the Anubhāvas alone as Rasa, another set of writers, all these but together as Rasa', is recorded by Abhinavagupta in his Locana and at a very late time, by Jagannātha Paṇḍita, such abject confusion there prevailed.[29]' Though there is divergence of opinion regarding rasa, all the scholars admit that the aesthetic experience is essentially pleasurable, it is a state of bliss, a state of self-fulfilment. Realisation of rasa is a pleasurable state and the taste of this s upreme delight is the ramaṇīyatā of Jagannātha (cf. itthaṁ nānājātiyābhiḥ śemuṣibhirnānārūpatayāvasitópi maṇīṣibhiḥ paramahlā-davinābhāvitayā pratīyamānaḥ prapancesminraso ramaṇīyatāmāvahatīti nirvivādaṁ—Rasagangādhgra, p. 35).

The Number of Rasa

The number of rasa is a controversial problem in the history of Sanskrit Criticism. This controversy about the types of rasa is due to the difference of opinion regarding the admission of Śantā in the list. From the ancient times, rasa has been accepted to be eight. Bharata in his Nātya Śāstra speaks of eight rasa and accordingly gives eight sthāyibhāvas. Poet Kalidāsa who is acknowledged as the great master-mind of India mentions eight rasas only.[30] Daṇḍin, another ancient rhetorician accepts eight rasas only (cf. 'iha tvastarasayatta rasavatta smṛtā girām' - Kāvyadarśa, II. 298). Bhāmaha, of course, did not give any prominence to rasa in his Kāvyalaṁkāra. He included rasa in the alaṁkāras. But it can be pressumed that he was aware of eight rasas only. It was, however, Udbhata who spoke of nine rasas in clear term mentioning Śānta also in the list. Mammaṭa said that Śānta was the ninth rasa having nirveda as its sthāyibhāva. Abhinavagupta accepts nine types of rasa and assigns reasons why śānta also should be

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included in the list of rasa. He cites instances showing Bharata's awareness of Śānta, but his arguments are based not upon Bharata's reference but upon his silence and they explain why Bharata was silent about it.[31] The problem of Śānta rasa has been exhaustively treated by modern scholars like Dr. Raghavan and Dr. De.[32] Any further discussion will be mere repetition. We however, propose here to give a summary of Jagannātha's discussion on Śānta rasa.

Jagannātha's View on Śānta Rasa

Like Abhinavagupta, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja admits nine rasas—Śṃgāra, Karuṇa, Śānta, Raudra, Vīra, Adbhuta, Hāsya, Bhayānaka and Vibhatsa.' This admission of nine rasa by Paṇḍitarāja reminds us the statement of Udhata who recognised Śānta as a rasa for the first time. There were others who, though, accepted Śānta as a rasa in poetry, ruled out the possibility of its depiction in a drama. Their contention is that in the actor, there is no śama and therefore, he cannot depict Śānta rasa. But this argument is not tenable. For, rasa is not produced through the character of the actor. It is the mind of the spectator having tranquility or 'nirveda' as one basic mental state, which relishes Śānta rasa. It also cannot be said that the actor lacks the basic mental trait of tranquility and as such he cannot depict Śanta rasa on the stage. For, in that case, there will be no theoretical ground to suppose that an actor can represent Bhayānaka rasa too. Though actually there is no wrath, fear etc. in the actor, he can cleverly show himself to be angry. Similar will be the case in the representation of Śānta rasa also. Another argument against admission of Śānta rasa is that the very atmosphere of dramatic representation with its songs, music and make-up etc. is rather antagonistic to the development of a a mood of śama or Nirveda (tranquillity) and so the sāmājika cannot relish it. Paṇḍitarāja meets this argument by the statement that those who accept Śānta as a rasa, do not consider music and orchestra as antagonistic to Śānta rasa. These accessories like orchestra, music etc., instead of being obstruction in the manifestation of Śānta rasa are helpful in producing it. Dr N.N. Chaudhury[33] has rightly remarked that the sage Nārada preached the transitory nature of this world with sweet tunes of his lute and Shrī

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Chaitanya sang the glory of the Lord Kṛṣṇa in accompaniment of the beating of the drums etc. It is, therefore, futile to consider orchestra, music etc., as antagonistic to tranquillity and impediment in the development of Śānta rasa.

Again there are writers who hold that any thought connected with mundane associations is contrary to the menifestation of Śānta rasa. The ālambanavibhāva of Śānta rasa like ephemeral nature of the world and its uddīpana-vibhāva, like the hearing of the Purāṇas, the company of the seers and the sight of hermitage and the places of pilgrims etc., are essential for the manifestation of the queistic sentiment, and such thought which have mundane associations will be antagonistic to the depiction of Śānta rasa. But their standpoint is also not tenable. Quoting from the Sangītaratnākara, Jagannātha establishes Śānta as a rasa refuting the argument of those who deny it the status of rasa on the above ground.

Some of the writers, however, admit Śānta as a rasa in Śravya Kāvya (poetry) but they do not admit as a rasa in a drama (cf. 'nanu śāntarasasya anabhineyatvāt yadyapi nātye' nupraveśo nāsti, tathāpi suksmātitādivastūnām sarveṣāmapi śabdapratipādyatayā vidyamānatvāt kāvyaviṣatvyaṁ na vāryate', Daśarūpaka, Avaloka, p.98). So they accept the Mahābhārata as Kāvya having Śānta rasa as dominant sentiment. But they do not admit it in the sphere of drama. The argument of this class of canonists is baseless. As Dr. Raghavan rightly remarks, 'To grant it in Kāvya and to deny it in Nātya is as clumsy a compromise as the one which grants it inherent Rasatva and denies it in the conventional vogue as a Rasa. Kāvya is, in essence, only drama and this Abhinava has emphasised in his Abhinavabhāratī. If it is possible to develop it as the theme of a Kāvya, equally is it possible to handle it as the motif of a drama'.[34] So Mammaṭabhaṭṭa[35] though first accepted only eight rasas, had to admit later on Śānta as the ninth one ('Nirvedasthāyibhāvo' sti śāntopi navamo rasaḥ'-4/35).

Jagnnātha's Illustration of Rasa

Having established Śānta as a rasa Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja enumerates the vibhāva, anubhāva and vyabhicāribhāva of each of them.

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Then he illustrates each of them citing his own illustration. First he takes up the Śṛṇgāra rasa. Śṛṇgāra is of two types—Saṁbhoga (love in union) and Vipralambha (love in separation). Sambhoga-Śṛṇgāra is that sentiment of love between the lover and the beloved when they are united together. The Vipralambha-Śṛṇgāra again is that sentiment of love existing between loving couple when they are separated from each other. But the union of the couple does not signify their co-existence or juxta-position. There may not be sambhoga-Śṛṇgāra in the same bed if either of them suffers from jealousy, indifference and other perverse attitude. Again, even if the lover and the beloved remain in separate places, there may not be separation. For, in that case, co-existence of the two lovers in the same place suffering from the perverseness of attitude may not result in feeling of separation. So saṁyoga (union) and viyoga (separation) are the two attitudes of the mind. When they emotionally think that they are united, then that sentiment of love will be saṁbhoga-śṛṇgāra. If, on the other hand, they consider themselves to be separated the sentiment will be a vipralambha-śṛṇgāra. Paṇḍitarāja cites the verse 'sāyaṁta savidhe' etc. as an illustration of Saṁbhoga-śṛṇgāra which we have discussed already. Vipralambha-śṛṇgāra is illustrated by the verse-

vāco māṅgalikīḥ prayāṇasamaye jalpatyanalpaṁ jane/
kelīmandiramāgatā ta yanamukhe vinyastavakrāmbuje/
niḥścasāglapitādharoparipatadbāṣpardavaksoruhā
bālā lolaviloçanā śiva śiva prāṇeśamālokate//

'While other people uttered volumes of auspicious words, the fickle-eyed girl with her lotus-like face placed at the window of the pleasure-house and her breasts being wet with tears falling from her lower-lip turning pale due to heaving of sighs, looks, alas!, at her beloved.'

This verse describes the separation of a departing husband from a young lady. While other kinsmen speak much at the hour of departure, the young lady looks at her beloved through the window. She heaves sighs and sheds tears. The intolerable nature of her separation is suggested by the repetition of the word 'śiva' and unfathomable mental

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agony is expressed by her eager-looks, heaving of sighs and shedding of tears. So this is an instance of vipralambhaśṛngāra. Here the nāyikā is the ālambana-vibhāva, breaths and tears of the nāyikā are anubhāvas and grief, anxieties etc., are vyabhicāribhāvas. Through the combination of these three, Saṁbhoga-śṛngāra has been suggested.

Vipralambha-śṛngāra is classified into five divisions by ancients like Mammaṭa and other (vide, aparastu abhinnasaviraherṣāpravāsa śāpa hetuka iti pancavidhaḥ' – Kāvya Prākaśa, p. 128). They are pravāsa (exile), abhilāsa (desire), viraha (separation), irṣā (jealousy) and śāpa (curse). But Jagannātha rejects this classification on the ground that the difference among them is not very glaring and they are actually various shades of the same mood.

Karuṇarasa

Karuṇarasa is illustrated by the following verse :

apahāya sakala bāndhavacintāmudvāsya gurukulapraṇayaṁ/
hā tanaya vinayaśālin kathamiva paralokapathikobhūḥ//

'O my son, leaving all your friends and banishing your love for your gurukula, you have become a traveller on the path leading to the other world.'

The verse under discussion gives a pathetic description of the death of the son of the speaker. Here the dead son is the ālambana-vibhāva; the sight of the friends at the time of death is the uddīpana-vibhāva, the pitious cry is the anubhāva and mental uneasiness, restlessness etc. are vyabhicāribhāvas. All these combined together have suggested Karuṇarasa.

Śāntarasa

Jagannātha cites the following verse to illustrate Śāntarasa –

malayānilakālakūtayo-ramaṇīkuntala-bhogi bhogayoḥ/
śvapacātmabhūvornirantarā, mama jātā paramātmani sthitiḥ//

'I have no knowledge of distinction between the Malaya wind and Kālakuta, between woman's lock of hair and the hood of serpent and between Candala and Self-born one and my existence has merged in Paramātman.'

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Here the transitory phenomenal world is the ālambanavibhāva, the feeling of equality in all objects is the anubhāva and knowledge etc., are vyabhicāribhāvas. The combination of these leads to the suggestion of Śāntarasa which has śama as its permanent mood. Though the verse suffers from the fallacy of bhagnaprakrama, still the speaker has lost the knowledge of distinction between the good and the bad and to signify that, doṣa itself has become a guṇa here.

Raudrarasa

Raudra-rasa is illustrated by the verse —

navocchalitajauvanasphuradaswarvagarvajvare
madīyagurukārmukaṁ galitasaddhvasaṁ vṛścati/
ayaṁ patatu nirdayaṁ dalitadṛptabhūbhṛdgal/
skhaladrudhiraghasmaro mama paraśvadho bhairavaḥ//

'Let this fearful axe of mine, which drank the blood oozing from the vain kings killed in the battle, fall upon him who is highly proud of his blooming youth and who broke the bow of my guru without any fear.'

This is the speech of Bhārgava (Parasurāma) whose penance was disturbed by the breaking of Śiva's bow by Rāmchandra who was known to him. Here, the name of Rāma who is the ālambanavibhāva is not mentioned because of his being a gurudrohi or through excessive anger. The breaking of the weapon fearlessly as inferred from the sound is uddipana vibhāva; harsh and rough speech is the anubhāva. Pride and arrogance etc., are sancāribhāvas. All these combined together lead to the suggestion raudra-rasa. The very diction of the verse has been able to cherish excessiveness of anger.

Vīrarasa

Jagannātha classified vīra-rasa into four varieties on the basis of four-fold division of utsāha, the permanent mood of vīra-rasa. These are dānavīra, dayāvīra, yuddha-vīra and dhārmavīra. To illustrate danavīra, the following verse is cited —

kiyadidamadhikaṁ me yaddvijāyarthayitre
kavacamaramaṇiyaṁ kuṇḍale cārpayāmi/

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akaruṇamavakṛtya drākkṛpāṇena nirya –
dvahalarudhiradhāraṁ maulimāvedayāmi//

'I have given the anklet and the two ear-rings to the Brahmin who is coming as a supplicant to me. What is with me? I can dedicate even my head cutting it immediately by the sword with flood of blood emitting from it.'

This is a speech of Karṇa to the members of his royal court, who were astonished at his charity when he was even ready to give his own amulet and the two ear-rings to Indra who was under the guise of a Brahmin. Indra is here ālambana vibhāva, his prayers and entreaties are uddīpana vibhāvas, Karṇa's readiness to give even the holy amulet and other things as something insignificant is anubhāva. The pride implied by the arthāntarasamkramitavācydhvani from the word 'mama' and his reminiscence of his illustrious parents who were no more, are sancāribhāvas. These have suggested munificent heroism (Dānavīratva). The diction (vṛtti) here is quite apt; it has been illustrative of the modesty and self-respect of the speaker and as such, it creates 'camatkṛti' in the mind of the reader.

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja illustrates the remaining types of vīra-rasa with suitable examples. Then he discusses the classification of heroic-sentiment into four-fold type in accordance with the view of the ancients. He remarks in this connection that such a four-fold classification of the vīra-rasa is an arbitrary tradition.[36] For vīra-rasa, like Śṛngāra-rasa can admit of many divisions. As for instance, in the verse cited as an illustration of yuddha-vīra ('sapadi vilayametu etc., RG, p. 49), if the last word 'dharmāt' is altered by 'satyāt' it will be an instance of Satyavīra. If it is argued that satya (truthfulness) is included in dharma (righteousness) and so satyavīra has been included in the dharmavīra, then the separate category of dayā-vīra as independent of dharma-vīra has no justification; for, dāna and dayā are also the two features of dharma. Dr S.N. Sastri very aptly observes that if Satyavīra is to be included in dharma-vīra, it would not be valid in logic and experience both, because such an all-inclusive notion of dharma is an omnibus feature and secondly the ralish of the emotional expression

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with a specific characteristic cannot be enjoyed in its generic terms.[37] So, if all these varieties are recognised, other classification of it like Paṇḍitavīra, Kṣemāvīra and Vala-vīra also will have to be recognised.

Adbhūtarasa

Adbhūta-rasa is illustrated by this verse –

carācarajagajjālasadanaṁ vadanaṁ tava/
galadgaganagāmbhiryaṁ vīkṣāmi hṛtacetanā//

'I become unconscious while I see your face as deep as the sky and abode of the movable and the immovable worlds.'

This is the speech of Yaśodā when sometimes she saw the mouth of her son Vāsudeva. Here the face of Kṛṣṇa is the ālambanavibhāva, the sight of the whole universe in the mouth of Lord is the uddīpana-vibhāva, Yasodā's falling unconscious, horripillation, throbbing of eyes etc. are anubhāvas and fear etc. are vyabhicāribhāvas. Through the combination of all these, adbhūtarasa is suggested.

Jagannātha here, rules out the possibility of suggestion of Yasoda's love for Kṛṣṇa, though it exists there. Even if it is suggested, in no case wonder and awe that she felt seeing the whole universe in his mouth, will be subordinate to the love. Yaśodā's feeling of devotion by the thought that 'he is illustrious person', will not be opposed by her idea that 'this is my son'. So, wonder, the permanent mood of adbhūtarasa will not be subordinated to the feeling of devotion here.

Hāsya-rasa

śrītātapādairvihite nibandhe nirūpitā nūtanajuktireṣā/
angaṁ gavāṁ pūrvamaho pavitraṁ na vā kathaṁ rāsabhadharmapatnyāḥ//

'In an article written by my revered father, this new reason has been given – if the front part of the body of a cow is pure and sacred why, then, is that of a female ass not so?'

Here in this verse, the son of the logician is the ālambanavibhāva, his statement without slightest doubt is uddīpanavibhāva, the showing of his teeth etc., are anubhāvas and his mental anxieties etc., are vyabhicāribhavas. These contribute in the manifestation of hāsya-rasa.

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Bhayānaka-rasa

Jagannātha cites the following verse as an example of Bhayānaka-rasa –

śvenamambaratalādupāgataṁ śuṣyadānanabilo vilokayaṅ/
kampamānatanurākulekṣaṇaḥ spanditum nahi śaśāka/lāvakaḥ//

'Seeing the hawk coming down from the sky, the lavaka (a bird) had its face turned pale, its body began to tremble and looks turned anxious; it could not move.'

Here the hawk is the ālambana-vibhāva, its quick flight below is the uddīpana-vibhāva, the paleness of its face is anubhāva and its mental anxiety etc. are the vyabhicāribhāvas and through them Bhayānaka-rasa is suggested.

Bibhatsarasa

This is illustrated by the following verse –

nakhairvidāritāntnrānām śavānaṁ pūyaśoṇitam/
ānaneṣvanulimpanti hṛṣṭa vetalayoṣitaḥ//

'The gay betala women besmear their faces with the blood of the corpses with intestines completely dislocated and torn off by their nails.'

Here the corpses are the ālambana-vibhāvas, tearing of the intestines etc., are uddīpana-vibhāvas, the horripilation, closing of eyes caused by ecstacy are anubhāvas; eagerness etc., are vyabhicāribhāvas; here Vibhatsa-rasa has been suggested.

Jagannātha on Bhakti-rasa

In the beginning the attention of traditional literary critics was not drawn towards the Bhakti-rasa and so, they seem to be silent to mention it at all. Abhinavagupta, the great Kasmirian philosopher and rhetorian included devotion to god in bhāvas like smṛti, mati, dhṛti and utsāha. Following him, Mammaṭabhaṭṭa also said that love and other feelings towards god were known as a bhāva only (cf. ratirdevādiviṣayā vyabhicāri tathānjitaḥ// bhāvaḥ proktaḥ/Kāvya Prakāsā IV. 35.) But the credit of raising bhakti to the status of a rasa goes to the Bengal Vaiṣṇava ālaṁkārikas. It is they who have introduced into Sanskrit

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literary criticism 'the most bewitching and maddening essence, that has immediately sublimated it from a mundane literary discussion to a sublime eulogy of the Supreme Bliss.'[38] Before the advent of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava Mahajānas, the great Māhārāstrian scholar Vopadeva in the thirteenth century wrote his famous Vaiṣṇava treatise 'Muktāphala' and there he defines Bhaktirasa as a kind of aesthetic experience that one derives by the process of hearing, singing, meditating on the names and deeds of Lord Viṣṇu or of Vaiṣṇabhaktas as given by Vyāsa and others (cf. vyāsādivirvarṇitasya viṣṇorviṣṇubhaktānām vā charitasya navarasātmakasya śravaṇadinā janitaścamatkāro bhaktirasaḥ, Quoted by Dr. Sudhir Das Gupta in his Kāvyāloka, p. 338). From this Dr. Das Gupta concludes that the credit of bringing the philosophy of aesthetic experience to the highest level of devotion should go to the Vaiṣṇava scholars like Bopadeva and others from south.[39] But this remark of Dr. Das Gupta is not justified. Actually the novel application of the orthodox Rasa-theory to the doctrine of Bhakti was done by Rūpa Goswamin in his epoch-making works, Bhakti-rasāmṛta Sindhu and Ujjvalanīlamaṇi. He was followed by a galaxy of Vaiṣṇava stalwarts like Jīva Goswamin, Kavi Karṇapura, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and others who not only championed the cause of Bhakti-rasa but also declared it as the Principal-rasa, Rasarāt. Madhusudan Saraswati, the great Advaitic Philosopher of Bengal also advocated Bhakti-rasa in his Bhakti-rasāyaṇa and declared that the Bhakti-rasa was the real rasa on account of its being a state of supreme bliss and other rasas were inferior to it. There is a great difference between Bhakti and other rasas like Śṛngāra etc., as there is difference between the sun and the glow-worm.

(cf. Paripūrṇarasa kṣudrarasebhyo bhagavadratiḥ/
khadyotebhyo evādityaprabheva balavattarā//

(Bhaktirasāyaṇa II. 77-78)

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja makes a departure from the traditional ālaṁkārikas in accepting the line of Bengal Vaiṣṇava ālamkārikas when he raises the problem of Bhakti-rasa and virtually he seems to advocate it though ultimately he does not. He holds the view that nobody can deny the experience of Bhakti-rasa having the Supreme God-head as the ālambana-vibhāva manifested through the enthralling horripilation

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and flow of tears and nourished by joy and others while listening to the narration of Purāṇas like Bhāgavata and others. The devotion to God here is the permanent mood. This cannot be included in Śāntarasa as attachment (anurāg) and detachment (vairāgya) are contradictory. But advocating strongly for the case of Bhakti as rasa, in the end he apprehends certain difficulties and fearing that such a concession may lead to a theoretical chaos, he prefers to abide by the authority of Bharata. It has been said by traditional rhetoricians that Bhakti is nothing but rati to God and this is a mere bhāva only, so it cannot be a rasa. Somebody may argue that Bhagavat-rati should be taken as a permanent emotion and love for a woman be taken as a bhāva only, as there is no criterion to distinguish one from the other. Paṇḍitarāja replies that this conception is not based on satisfactory ground. Because the proper elaboration of rasa, bhāva etc. are done according to the dictum of Bharata. Others have no authority to dislodge it. In absence of such an authority in this respect, somebody will propose the love for a son as a sthāyibhāva, and jugupsā and śoka also would fall under the category of vyabhicāribhāvas. 'The whole system of Bharata will then have to be overhauled and this is far from desirable. Bharata alone is the guide and authority to decide which Bhāva is sthāyin and which vyabhicārin.'[40] Thus Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja following the tradition of alaṁkāra śāstra accepts nine rasas and rejects the claim of Bhakti as a separate rasa. As Dr. Raghunath Sharma rightly remarks, 'It is really a pity that in spite of strong advocacy for rasahood of Bhakti, Paṇḍitarāja declares his slavery to the tradition and expresses his inability in classifying Bhakti as a rasa. This is a clear blot on the traditional literary system.[41]

An Assessment of Jagannātha's Treatment of Rasa

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja occupies a prominent place in the development of the Rasa-theory. He being the last of the Sanskrit theorists, his treatment of rasa is important from the view point of the development of the rasa-theory from Bharata down to his own times. He is perhaps the last theorist who attempts to give it a definite and coherent basis, though he did not, of course, hold rasa as the soul of

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poetry, as Viśwanātha of the fourteenth century did. Still in his treatment, rasa occupies a prominent position in poetry. His definition of poetry[42] as 'words bringing charming idea into an expression' led him to think that only such an expression gives charming idea which is capable of giving transcendental joy. In the end, he admits that 'Rasa is felt as that which is invariably connected with the highest joy and partaking of beauty in the world'[43]. He gives an elaborate treatment of the rasa theory and to clarify his stand on the doctrine of rasa, he states eight views on it. Some of these views are the classical interpretation of Bharata's famous Rasa-sūtra by Lollata, Srī Śankuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka and Abhinavagupta; the source of the other views are not known to us. Thus we see that he tried to be as such elaborate and all comprehensive as was possible in his times. He is a 'grand synthesizer' of the all past traditions on this topic and tries his best not to leave any gap or incongruity in his theory. His powerful mind is able to parade the whole of the continuous process starting with Bharata and culminating in himself as its zenith.

Jagannātha's interpretation of rasa is the crowning success in his Rasagaṅgādhara. He is faithful to the traditional view on the topic as given by Abhinavagupta and Ānandavardhana. To give a more rational and firm ground, he includes rasa in asaṁlakṣa-vyangadhvani as has been done by Mammaṭa. His exposition of Abhinava's interpretation of rasa is an important contribution to the history of Sanskrit Criticism. In stating the view, he gives it a new colour in the light of Vedanta Philosophy. Dr. Pandey in his Indian Aesthetics (p. 139) remarks that what Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja attributes as Abhinavagupta's view of aesthetic experience is not the actual fact. According to Dr Pandey, Abhinavagupta does not hold the view that the aesthetic experience is the experience of the sthāyin, related to the self (cit) as the attribute of itself. Most probably the mind of the learned Doctor missed the point due to over-sight. Jagannātha has replaced the metaphysical basis of Abhinavagupta's aesthetics by the metaphysics of Advaita school and made corresponding changes which is suitable to his new metaphysical foundation. He interprets 'abhivyakti' in the sense of blissful suggestion which lifts the vibhāvas etc. above common level and rasa-

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niṣpatti is the illumination of blissful self delimited by sthāyibhāvas. Thus Paṇḍitarāja's view on Rasa does not differ from that of Abhinavagupta which is identical with carvaṇa or realisation freed from obstacles. 'Actually it is nothing more than the presentation of in Vedantic from and nomenclature of the factors at work in removing the obstacles (vighnapasāraka) in the conscious emergence (saṃvitti) of rasa postulated by the great Abhinavagupta.'[44] So the greatness of our Paṇḍitarāja lies in the fact that while he is faithful to Abhinavagupta acknowledging vāsanas, described by the great Kasmirian philosopher, he admits on the basis of Vedanta philosophy, the state of soul covered by the veil of ignorance. In support of his view, Jagannātha quotes from the Upaniṣads and maintains that inner caitanya with rati and other stāayibhāvas and free from any āvaraṇa or curtain is felt as rasa. Thus Paṇḍitarāja's treatment of rasa cannot be original in all respects. While he remains faithful to Abhinavagupta and Mammaṭa, he gives the Rasa-theory a firm and philosophical basis. This is by no means less original than propounding a new theory in literary criticism.

His exposition of the eight conflicting views of predecessors on rasa evidences the clarity of his thinking and the power of his logic. It does not suffer from any fallacy of definition - too wide (ativyāpti) or too narrow (avyāpti). His application of Nyāya method of argument provided enough safeguard against any logical slip in his theory. Jagannātha's novelty of treatment raises the exposition of rasa theory to a very high level, though he had nothing to add newly to the conception after being fixed by Dhvanikāra. As a matter of fact, the view of Davani school as stated by Mammaṭa, became inspite of many attempts on improvement in details, a kind of fixed cannon for all time to come.[45]

On the whole Paṇḍitarāja's treatment of rasa gives this doctrine a coherent and synthetic philosophical basis within the limits of its fixed form laid down by ancient authority. His treatment of the concept with apt illustrations from his own pen gives us an idea how the doctrine was developed within its limits of the cannonical form starting with Bharata with an eye to both drama and poetry. Ignoring none, not evening the nameless, and showing catholicity towards all theorists of the past at the same time adhering to philosophical discipline of

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Vedanta and logical discipline of Nyāya, Jagannātha has reviewed as precisely as possible, the dfferent interpretation of rasa-sūtra along with different types of rasa. Such a grant synthesis of past views and superdevelopment of a theory is possible only through an encyclopaedic genius like Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja.

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FOUR

JAGANNATHA'S CONCEPT OF GUṆA

History of the Conception of Guṇa

The treatment of guṇas or literary excellence forms an important part of Sanskrit poetics. The tradition of Indian poetics connects the name of Bharata with this principle of literary criticism also in Sanskrit. The sixteenth chapter of Bharata's Nātya Śāstra gives us for the first time a developed dogma, if not a theory, of poetics which mentions ten guṇas together with four alaṁkāras, ten doṣas and thirty six lakaṣaṇas of poetic composition.[1] The number and nomenclature of the guṇas enumerated by Bharata and also the substance of some of them were adopted conventionally by later theorists, though, of course, there is wide gulf of difference between Bharata and later writers, regarding the conception of guṇas.

Bharata characterises guṇas as the antonym of doṣas and describes them in negative terms only. His conception of guṇas is noteworthy from the standpoint of the fact that Vāmana, the propounder of the riti school, regards guṇas as positive elements. In the post-Dhvani period, all writers considered guṇas generally as the negative of doṣas.[2]

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However, Bharata's treatment does not support the view that all the ten guṇas enumerated by him are only negative characteristics. As for instance, the guṇas like mādhuyra and audārya as defined by him, are not negation of anything in sense. However, he attaches equal importance to guṇas as the alaṁkāras and takes them to be subservient to rasa, which is of primary importance in the drama. Although Bharata does not define guṇas, it is evident that he treats them as elements heightening the acting in a drama or of the language and diction in poetry.

After Bharata, Bhāmaha makes a meagre attempt at the doctrine of guṇa in the very beginning of the Chapteer II of his Kāvyālaṁkāra. He makes the exposition of guṇa in the three kārikās[4] where he mentions only three guṇas, viz., mādhurya, prasāda and ojas. From the standpoint of mentioning three guṇas, Bhāmaha may be taken to be a precursor of Anandavardhana. But this has no relation with Anandavardhana's new theory which recognises only three guṇas. As Dr. Raghavan rightly remarks, 'This fact of Bhāmaha mentioning only three Guṇas has no relation to the later theory of Guṇas being only three as a corollary of the theory of Guṇa as Rasa-dharama established by Anandavardhana.'[5]

Daṇḍin, however, makes an elaborate treatment of guṇas in his Kāvyādarśa, though he does not define them. He enumerates ten guṇas (Kāvyādarśa, 1.41) and in his mārga scheme, he gives them a subordinate place. The ten guṇas which he enumerates are considered to be the life of Vaidarbhī style and the opposite of these is largely seen in the style of Gauḍas. Daṇḍin is the first rhetorician who connected the guṇas with the mārgas (diction). We can easily understand that Bharata was not aware of this peculiar relationship between the guṇas and the mārgas.[6] Though he does not define guṇas, we can understand from his definition of alaṁkāras what he understood by the guṇas in poetry. His conception of alaṁkāras covered the guṇas as well, which were regarded by him as the essence of various mārgas. According to his scheme, guṇas are also a kind of alaṁkāras; they add charm to poetry [cf. sobhākaratvaṁ hi alaṁkāralakṣaṇam tallakṣaṇayogāt tepi (śleṣādayo dosaguṇā api) alaṁkāraḥ, Tarunvachaspati, quoted by Dr. Nagendra, in

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his HKAS, Introduction, p.60]. One of the novel features of Daṇḍin's treatment of the guṇas is that he has not made them subordinate to rasa; rather they form an independent part and add charm to poetry. According to Daṇḍin, Kāvya is a series of words expressive of charming idea and the charm of the series of words belongs to both word and sense. So the guṇas also refer both to the word and sense.

After Daṇḍin, Vāmana's contribution as a poeticist lies in his attempt to define guṇa in general for the first time. He also brings out the difference between guṇas and alaṁkāras and tries to assign proper place to both the tenets in his scheme of literary judgment. He defines guṇas as attributes enhancing the beauty of poetry.[7] Actually, Vāmana's definition of guṇa is nothing but Daṇḍin's definition of alaṁkāra. But his definition of alaṁkāra is a wide one to cover both guṇas and alaṁkāras; Vāmana narrows its limit. Thus according to him, guṇas are the attributes which give śobhā or beauty to a Kāvya; but alaṁkāras add additional charm to it (kāvyalaṁkāra-sūtravṛtti 1,1-12). As a matter of fact, śobhā or beauty for which a composition is accepted as Kāvya and which is, therefore, its essential quality, is caused by guṇas, and alaṁkāras bring additional beauty and so they have an optional and additional value in the texture of poetry. Consequently, guṇas are eternal (pūrve nityāḥ) and they are indispensable elements of a Kāvya whereas alaṁkāras contribute in its heightening of additional beauty. To speak in other words, guṇas are related to poetry through samavāyasambandha and alaṁkāras rest in it through saṁyoga. In his conception of guṇa in relation to rasa, Vāmana is more akin to Daṇḍin than to Bharata. Like Daṇḍin, he does not consider guṇas as the essence of rasa, rather he relates them directly to word and sense and thus he regards them as the essence of poetic expression. Guṇas, according to him, are not subordinate to rasa, rather, defining kānti as the predominance of rasa, he subordinates it to guṇas.[8] He defines them as an essential characteristic of rīti which is the soul of poetry (rītirātmā kāvyasya). Here Vāmana applies the word 'rīti' for Daṇḍin's mārga.[9] But while Daṇḍin considers the ten guṇas as the life of Vaidarbha mārga, Vāmana regards them as the essential characteristics in general.

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He also accepts Daṇḍin's ten guṇas, but he increases the number from ten to twenty pertaining to both word and sense. To suit his idea, he has changed the meanings of many guṇas. But this change is neither fully convincing nor logical. Dr. D. K. Gupta rightly observes, 'In order to accommodate this change, he has to alter some of the earlier definitions and introduce some new points, which, many of them, must be admitted as being far-fetched, and in this task, he cannot be held to have succeeded, for one can clearly see that his guṇas have stood afar from the concepts that their names imply.'[10]

Dhvanikāra maintains that the guṇas have not separate existence and for it, they depend upon rasa only. He defines guṇas in the following kārikā:

tamarthamavalambate ye'nginaṁ te guṇāh smṛtāḥ/
angaśritāstvalaṁkāra mantavyāḥ kaṭakādivat// (Dvh.2.6)

Thus according to Dhvanikāra rasa is the predominant element in Kāvya and the guṇas pertain to that predominant element only. Just as the quality of heroism, depends upon the soul, guṇas also depend upon the rasa which is soul of Kāvya. Dhvanikāra was supported by theorists like Mammaṭa, Hemchandra, Vidyādhara and Viśwanātha. Mammaṭa is more unequivocal in stating the guṇas as the attribute of rasa. Like Dhvanikāra he accepts three varieties of guṇa—mādhurya, ojas and prasāda. The position of the guṇas in the Dhvani theory is clearly brought out by M.M. Sharma[11] in the following lines—'From Ananda's words, we learn that guṇas as understood in their technical implication, belong to the words and the meanings suggestive of rasa. (cf. kāvyamāśṛtya mādhuryaṁ pratitiṣṭhati, śabdārthavasrtyaujo vyavasthitaṁ and prasādastu svacchatā śabdārthayoḥ). Druti, dīpti and mental state of being overwhelmed are the effects of the rasas. Guṇas always owe their occurrence to the corresponding presence of rasa, Viśwanātha and other later poeticians mostly subscribe to this view directly or indirectly. But Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja strikes a note of dissent and does not accept guṇas as an essence of rasa. We are going to examine his view in the following paragraphs.

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Jagannātha's Conception of Guṇa

After the establishment of the Dhvani theory which regulated the poetic thought as a standard literary principles of criticism in Sanskrit, there was little scope of offering new ideas; but Paṇḍitarāja, in his zeal of showing origninality struck a different note and endorsed the views of the older writers which went against the accepted views of the neo-critics. In his treatment of guṇa, he followed Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta to a certain length; but he introduced some new ideas too, in his conception of guṇa and tried to discuss it by adopting Navya-nyāya method of argument and thus he treated the guṇas having accepted the some old ideas and clarified them in the light of his own rhetorical doctrines.

Mammaṭa and other writers of the Dhvani school maintain that the guṇas are attributes of rasa; but such statements like 'madhurā racanā', 'ojasvi gumphah' etc. which are found in practice are made in a figurative way. Just as heroism is an attribute of the soul, still we say that his appearance or physique is heroic, similarly such statements as 'madhurā racanā' etc. are in use by lakṣaṇā only. Jagannātha does not support that the guṇas are the attributes of rasa and with a view to refuting the view of these navya alaṁkārikas, raises the question as to the criterion of accepting the guṇas as the attribute of rasa. Perceptual evidence here cannot establish the guṇas as the properties of rasa. Jagannātha maintains that in case of fire, it produces burning sensation as its effects and heat as its quality separately quite distinct from each other. But in relishing rasa, we do not feel any quality except its effects— druti and dīpti, which are mere emotional states. Again, it is also a fact that heat and burning sensation of fire may not always be felt and so they are the qualities of fire and not essence of it. 'But on the contrary, we find that when Rasa emerges, it invariably produces only a mental modification and we do not perceive any other characteristics apart from it as we do in case of fire. So the criterion of quality, as distinct from essence, is not noticeable in the case of Rasa by perceptual intuition.'[12]

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Paṇḍitarāja anticipates that the opponent may say for the sake of argument, that the existence of the qualities like mādhurya, ojas etc. as rasa-dharma, may not be established by perception, but can be proved by inference. Generally it is admitted that rasa cannot be said to be common cause for the effects like druti, dīpti and vikāśa. Because, rasas in general are supposed to be the cause of druti and other effects and śṃgāra would also be the cause of druti and vīra (heroic sentiment) would also, in the like manner, would be the cause of druti. To obviate this difficulty, a specific causal relation must be admitted. Generally it is found that a specific cause has a specific effect. In other words, a cause is different from another cause because it has a distinct effect. The mental state caused by śṃgāra is different from that of vīra. So śṃgāra has a distinctive characteristic from that of vīra. This distinct character again is possible on account of the difference of qualities. So the idea of guṇās as distinctive characteristic of rasa is proved by inference.

Controverting the arguments of the opponents, Jagannātha says that nobody will object to admit that a specific cause has a specific effect and the distinctive nature of the cause is inferred from the distinctivē nature of the effect. Thus śṃgāra has the characteristic śṃgāratva which is quite distinct from other rasas. Śṃgāra cannot be the cause of druti directly and so there is no causal connection between śṃgāra and druti. But a particular rasa having the quality mādhurya may be the cause of druti and in this way it can be inferred that śṃgāra has mādhurya. but it is futile to infer mādhurya and other guṇas from śṃgāra than to infer śṃgāratva which is known directly to exist in śṃgāra (cf. drutyādiniṣṭhakāryatanirupitayā rasaniṣṭhakāraṇatayā upapattaye yadi guṇāh kalpyante tahri gauravaṁ syādato drutyādiṁ prati rasānāṁ karaṇatā pratisvīkarupeṇa sampādaniyā .... prakṛte ca pratyekapārho raso'teḥ pratyekarasaḥ śṛgārādiḥ tadgatāsādharaṇadharmāḥ śṃgāratvaṁ, karuṇatvaṁ viratvaṁ/ tadādirūpeṇeti bhāvaḥ/ Rasagangādhara, ed. by Madhusudhan Sastri, pp. 229-30).

The opponent may again raise the objection that instead of admitting the individual cause of each rasa, it will be a logical economy to admit a common cause (melting of the heart) of the three rasas,

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Śṛṅgāra, Karuṇa and Śānta on account of their having mādhurya. Thus for instance for nine rasas, there would be nine causes. If druti is admitted to be the effect of Śṛṅgāra, karuṇa and Śānta which have the common quality mādhurya, there will be three causal connections (Kāryakāraṇabhāva) instead of nine. This will not only establish the existence of guṇas but also will be a logical economy. But Paṇḍitarāja does not consider this argument to be based on reasons. To meet the argument he states that Mammaṭa and other rhetoricians held that different rasas had different effects and as such he did not accept mādhurya as an indivisible objects (akhaṇḍa vastu). Again in the effect of different guṇas also, there is difference of degrees just like druti, drutitara and drutitama and so the very argument of establishing guṇas as rasadharmas through the relationship of cause and effect instead of being a logical economy, results in the admission of plurality of causes.

The Vedantic conception of Atman as introduced by Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja in his Rasa-theory is also advanced to refute the argument of the opponents who hold that the guṇas are the attributes of rasa. Accordingly, Paṇḍitarāja holds that Atman is devoid of any quality and rasa is Ātman and so rasa is devoid of any quality.

Now it may be said that rasa is Atman and it is Nirguṇa; still mādhurya and other guṇas may belong not to rasa but to the sthāyibhāvas like rati and others which are the upādhis (qualifying adjuncts) of rasa. But Jagannātha maintains that it is also a debatable question as there is no proof for this. Again, according to the dictum of Nyāya philosophy[13], a quality is not qualified by another quality. Rati and other sthāyibhāvas are qualifying adjuncts of rasa and as such, they themselves are guṇas. If mādhurya is again admitted as the guṇa of them, then it will lead us to admit a quality of another quality which is improper. Such being the case, how can we use the expressions like 'śṛṅgāra madhuraḥ'. Jagannātha replies that such expression is possible through prayojakatā sambandha. It is an admitted fact that śṛṅgāra has mādhurya and it is the prayojaka of druti which is a mental state (cittavṛtti). Or it may be said that through the relation of causality, druti and other mental states are called mādhurya. Although druti, dīpti etc.

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are mental states, their prayojaka, viz., mādhurya exists in rasa. So through the relation of prayojakatā druti may exist in rasa. Again, the prayojakatā sambandha is also possible in analogy with the expression 'vājigandhā uṣṇā. In Ayurveda it is said that vājigandhā (physalis Flexuosa) produces heat in body if it is consumed. Hence vājigandhā itself is called warm in the manner of identifying a garment as warm on account of its capacity of producing heat.[14] Thus Jagannātha justifies the predication of mādhurya on the ground of its being a condition (prayojakatā) of the mental state of druti.

Having established mādhurya as the causality of druti Jagannātha removes the possibility of the general causes like adṛṣṭa as being one of them. A general cause is the cause of all effects. They are Isvara, isvarecchā, desá, kāla, ākāsá, dharma, adharma, prāgbhāva and prativandakabhāva.[15] They are the general antecedents of all sorts of activity. So they may be the causality of druti also. But actually such statements as mādhurya adṛṣṭa etc. are not in vogue and so mādhurya etc. should be understood not belonging to the general causes but to the particular causes like śabda, artha, rasa and racanā. Thus the causality of mādhurya and other guṇas to produce druti and other mental states being established, the necessity of postulating lakṣaṇā for explaining guṇas in connection with śabda and artha does not arise.

Number of guṇas

There is divergence of opinion among the rhetoricians regarding the number of guṇas. Broadly two opposite views regarding the number of guṇas are found to exist—one of the ancient alaṁkārikas and the other of the navyas. According to the first view, the number of guṇas is not fixed while the other have fixed it for all time to come. Bharata enumerates ten guṇas and following him Daṇḍin also accepts ten guṇas which according to him, go to make up good poetry.[16] After him, there is a tendency among the writers to increase the number of guṇas. Bhāmaha, one of the earliest alaṁkārikas, reduced them to three but Vāmana multiplied the number into twenty.[17] This tendency to increase the number of guṇas is best exhibited by Bhoja who multiplies their number into twenty four. It is interesting to note that he admits

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three varieties of guṇa—external, internal and vaiśeṣika and each being twenty four, the total number of guṇas in his scheme comes to seventy two.[18] The Agnipurāṇa enumerates eighteen guṇas, six each belonging to word and to sense and the rest six belonging to both of them. But this number given by the Agnipurāṇa is not authoritative; rather it is very confusing.[19] Vāmana, following Bharata and Daṇḍin, enumerates ten guṇas and this was more or less a standard number. But he doubles it by bringing them under two classifications—Śabda-guṇa and artha-guṇa. It must, however, be admitted that Vāmana made some development on Daṇḍin's scheme; but he was not successful. His classification of guṇa has been subject to criticism and later theorists have reduced the number into three only.

In the second group of rhetoricians in whom there is a tendency to reduce the number of guṇas, may be included generally the Dhvani theorists and some other writers like Mammaṭa, Hemchandra, Vidyādhara and Viśwanātha. They restrict the number of guṇas into three and treat the rest either as included within these three or as mere negation of flaws. Anandavardhana accepts for the first time, guṇas as rasa-dharma and also accepts only three guṇas- mādhurya, ojas and prasāda. Mammaṭa also accepts these three guṇas and includes the rest in them. He says in his Kavyaprakāśá (VIII, Kārikā 72) that of these ten guṇas some are included in these three; others are resolved into mere negation of certain defects and the rests are doṣas only. Viśwanātha exactly follows Mammaṭa in minimising their number into three. It is to be noted here that Mammaṭa and his followers admit guṇas as the characteristics of rasa and in the realisation of rasa, which is a psychological process, the attitude of the mind changes into three state—druti (fluidity), dīpti (glaringness) and vyāpti (expansion). Corresponding to these three attitudes of mind these rhetoricians admit only three guṇas—mādhurya, ojas and prasāda. Thus it is clear that the later writers tried to minimize the number of guṇas into three instead of increasing it. Mammaṭa's refutation of the ten guṇas of the older writers and his exposition of the three guṇas are very convincing and there is little scope to controvert it.

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Jagannātha's View on the Number of Guṇas

Like Mammaṭa and other followers of the Dhvani theorists, Jagannātha accepts three guṇas and accordingly he also dismisses the other guṇas except mādhurya, ojas and prasāda as included in these three guṇas or in certain doṣābhāvas or in some alaṁkāras and a few of them as mere beautifying agents and others as doṣas only. Thus, śleṣa, udāratā, prasāda and samādhi are included in compositions having ojas. Now śleṣa and udārata may be included in the writings characterised by compactness of word-structure. But prasāda and samādhi are partly compact and partly loose. How can they be brought under ojas? Jagannātha removes the doubt by stating that they can be included either in compositions suggestive of mādhurya or of prasāda. Mādhurya as admitted by Vāmana is nothing but those compositions by which mādhurya is suggested. In this way, the word vyangya is sufficient to cover those writings suggestive of those guṇas. So far as samatā is concerned, it cannot be a guṇa in a composition. For, in a metrical composition, different styles should be adopted to bring out the evenness or unevenness of the composition. Among other guṇas, Kānti and saukumārya have lost their very existence by the rejection of the doṣas—grāmyatva and kaṣṭatva. Arthavyakti has been included in prasāda.

Among the artha-guṇas, śleṣa and first four varieties of ojas are mere flourish of style. So they do not deserve to be included in guṇas. Otherwise, Jagannātha holds, every śloka will have to be counted as an instance of guṇas on account of their variations in strikingness of expression. Other guṇas like prasāda consisting in the clearness of meaning, mādhurya which is nothing but a facniful expression, saukumārya consisiting of freedom from ruggedness, udarāta which consists in the absence of vulgarity, Samatā characterised by the absence of difference the fifth variety of ojas indicative of some purpose in view, arthavyakti cōnsisting in the distinctness of meaning and kānti consisting in the brilliance of sentiment, have been rendered futile by the negation of the doṣas like by adhikapadatva, anavīkṛtatva, aślīla, agrāmya, bhagnaprakrama and apuṣṭārtha and also by the admission of

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svabhāvokti alaṁkāra, rasadhvani and rasavadalaṁkāra. Samādhi is nothing but the original idea of a poet; it is the source of poetry and is not a guṇa. If, however, it is accepted as a guṇa, pratibhā (poetic genius) too should be counted as a guṇa. So Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, following Mammaṭa and other dhvani-theoriest accepts three guṇas only.

Next we propose to discuss the ten guṇas of the ancients as elucidated by Paṇḍitarāja with a reference to slight change brought about in them by him.

Ślesa is the use of homogeneous letters in different words to create an impression of oneness among the words. This is also known as compactness. The example given by Jagannātha is this—'anavaratavidddvadrumadrohi d āridryamādyaddvipoddāma darpaughavidravanapraudrapancānanaḥ', where the heterogeneous words patched up together give the impression that they are 'abhinna' (homogeneous).

According to Daṇḍin, śleṣa consists in the quality of being well-knit, the opposite of which is looseness due to the abundant use of alpaprāṇa (unaspirated) letters.[21] Vamana's śleṣa is again coalescence of words resulting in smoothness.[22] It will be seen that Daṇḍin's definition differs from that of Vāmana. Both the alaṁkārikas, however, emphasise the sound aspect in śleṣa. But the definitions of Jagannatha and Daṇḍin correspond to the ojas of Vāmana and not to śleṣa.

The alternative use of laxity and compactness of word-structure in an expression is prasāda, e.g.,

kiṁ brūmastava vīratāṁ vayamami yasmin dharāmaṇḍala
krīḍakuṇḍalitabhruśoṇanayane dormaṇḍalam paśyati /
māṇikyavalikāntidanturatarairbhuṣāsahasrotkarair-
vindhyāraṇyaguhāgṛhāvaniruhastatkālamullāsitāḥ//

(Rasagangādhara, p.69)

'O Indra, what should we speak of your heroism on the earth? Wherever you cast your glance on your pair of arms making your red eyes circular together with your eye-brows, the trees in the cave of Vindhya mountain become more beautiful by the lustre of ornaments dazzled by

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emeralds.' Here the words from 'kiṁ' to 'yasmin' are loose from 'dharā etc.' to 'bruhi' are compact and again there is laxity upto 'nayana'.

Daṇḍin's definition[23] of prasāda is substantially the same as that of the author of Kāvyaprakāśa who describes prasāda as the comprehension of the meanings of the words just being heard[24]. Vāmana's prasāda, however,deviates from the usual track. He defines it as the laxity of structure.[25] It is merely a negation of ojas. But he adds that it is an excellence only when it combines with ojas. Jagannātha takes this aspect of Vāmana's interpretation in his conception of guṇa.

Samatā or evenness is the homogeneity of style of composition from the beginning to the end. The example cited above as that of mādhurya is of samatā also. Here in this verse, upanāgarika vṛtti has been followed from the beginning to the end.

Daṇḍin's samatā is evenness in the grouping of word-sounds which are either soft, harsh or middling arising respectively by the combination of soft, harsh or mixed letters. Vāmana describes it as the non-avoidance of a particular mārga in an expression. This definition of Vāmana has close similarity with that of Paṇḍitarāja. Abhinavagupta rightly compares Bharata's guṇa to Vāmana's verbal excellence which bears close affinity with Daṇḍin's conception of samatā.[26]

Mādhurya occurs in a composition due to the juxtaposition of distinct words where short vowels are made long by subsequent conjuct consonants. Jagannātha's example of mādhurya is:

nitarāṁ paruṣā sarojamālā na mṛṇālāni vicārapeśalāni /
yadi kamalatā tavangakānāmatha ka nāma kathāpi pallavānāṁ//
(Rasagangādhara, p.150)

'The garland of lotuses is very rough; lotus-fibres do not appear worthy of choice. If you speak of the delicacy of your limbs, then what is the use of mentioning the twigs?'

In Daṇḍin's view, mādhurya or sweetness is the elegance caused by alliteration, technically called śrutyanuprāsa and absence of vulgarity. According to Bhāmaha, that Kāvya is sweet which is agreeable to the ear and does not contain long compounds. Vāmana defines it as distinctness of words due to absence of long compounds and by defining

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so, he borrows the second aspect of Bharata's mādhurya. 'In rasadhvani theorists, it is the source of pleasure caused by the fluidity of heart, arising from absence or rarity of compound '.[27]

Sukumāratā or softness is an excellence of a passage, the diction of which is free from harshness. The illustrative verse cited by Jagannātha is-

svedāmbusāndrakaṇasālikapolapāli
dolāyitaśravaṇakundalavandanīyā /
ānandamkurayati smaraṇena kāpi
ramyā doṣā manasi me madirekṣaṇāyāh //

'My mind becomes delighted by mere remembrance of the beautiful condition of my beloved having tremulous eyes and decorated with ear rings that hang on her cheeks wet with dense drops of perspiration'.

According to Daṇḍin, sukumāratā consists in the absence of harshness due to the use of soft vocables.[28] In Vāmana, it is ajāthārthatvaṁ, i.e., freedom from harshness. But this guṇa should never be confounded with the doṣa śaithilya which is brought about by the preponderance of weak and non-aspirated letters. Anticipating such a confusion Daṇḍin said- 'bandhaśaithilyadoṣo'pi darśita sarvakomale' (Kāvyādarśa, 1.69). According to Dr. Gupta, Vāmana follows Daṇḍin in his conception of this guṇa and the latter again partially follows Bharata. Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, here, follows what Vāmana had said and he had nothing new to add in the development of the conception of this excellence.

Arthavyakti is the easy apprehension of relationship of the words in a sentence. As the illustrative verse, Jagannātha refers to the verse 'nitarāṁ paruṣā' etc. as cited already to illustrate Mādhurya.

Daṇḍin defines it as the absence of ambiguity (Kāvyādarśa, 1.73). 'When a sentence is self-sufficient containing all necessary explanations within itself, when there is no need for 'adhyāhāra' and the like, the sentence is said to be characterised by arthavyakti.[29] Vidyānātha who follows Bhoja in mentioning twenty four excellences, defines arthavyakti as clearness of sense caused by the completion of sense due to the completion of a sentence in all its parts.[30] According to some

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rhetoricians, however, arthavyakti is not different from prasāda and Viśvanātha holds this view when he says:

arthavyakteḥ prasādākhyaguṇenaiva parigraḥ/
arthavyaktiḥ padānāṁ hi zatityarthasamarpaṇam//

(Sāhityadarpaṇa 9.11)

Udāratā consists in the fanciful grouping of words which are characterised as harsh. The typical example of this guṇa is the following verse:

pramodabharatundilapramathadattatālāvalī-
vinodini vināyake ḍamaruḍiṇḍimadhvānini//
lalāṭa taṭavisfuṭannavakṛpīṭayoniccha ṭo
haṭṭoddhata-jaṭodbhaṭo gatapaṭo naṭo nṛtyati//

'Vināyaka, who takes much delight in tales of the hosts of Pramathas who were extremely glad, having sounded his 'damaru', Nataraja Siva with radiance of fire emitted from his forehead and looking ugly with dishevelled matted lock of hair, began to dance.

Daṇḍin describes udārata (1) as possessed of eminence striking the mind and (ii) the employment of abundance of elegant adjectives (kāvyādarśa 1.76-79). Vāmana defines it as loveliness in which words seem to dance (Hindi Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra VIII, 1.2.3). According to C. S. Rama Sastri[31], the second description of udārata follows Agnipurāṇa which describes it thus- 'uttānapadatandāryaṁ yutaṁ ślāghyaviśeṣanaiḥ.' . Dr. Gupta on the other hand, holds the view that the Agnipurāṇa unsuccessfully tries to combine the misconceived idea of verbal guṇa with Daṇḍin's second interpretation. Jagannātha defining udāratā as the dancing of words for the use of harsh letters, partially follows Vāmana with the introduction of slight improvement.

Ojas is the compactness of word-structure which abounds in short letters followed by conjunct ones, e.g :

sāhaṁkārasurāsurāvalikarākṛṣṭabhramanmandara-
kṣubhyatkṣiradhivalguvicivalayashṛigarvasrvaṅkaṣāḥ/
tṛṣṇātāmyadamandatāpasakulaiḥ sānandamālokitā
bhūmibhuṣaṇa bhūṣayanti bhuvanābhogaṁ bhavatkīrtaya//

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'O thou the ornement of the earth, your fame which can humble down the pride of beauty of waves of the ocean, tossed against the malaya mountain which is being dragged in churning by the hands of gods and demons and noticed by the host of anchorites eagerly and delightfully, decorates the boundary of the world.'

Daṇḍin defines ojas as the preponderance of compounds. This, according to him, is the chief characteristic of prose compositions following both the Vaidarbha and Gauḍa patterns. Bhāmaha, of course, does not define it but he states that some, wishing to show force, compound many words into one (kecidojobhidhitsantaḥ samasyanti bahunyapi/ yathā mandārakusumareṇupinjaritalaka// kāvyālaṁkāra 2.2). Vāmana considers it to be the compactness of word-structure which actually corresponds to Daṇḍin's ślesa. Mammaṭa and Viśvānātha conceive ojas as the glaringness (dīptatva) which causes expansion of the heart and which consists in abundant use of compounds and verbosity.[32] Jagannātha's conception of ojas corresponds to the definition of Vāmana though he tries to improve upon Vāmana by clearly stating the cause of gāḍhatva (compactness).

Kānti is the brilliance in the form of supermundane sobhā or beauty in the words employed in a composition with the exclusion of those disagreeable words worthy of use only in the Vadas. As a typical example of this guṇa, Jagannātha mentions the same verse 'nitarāṁ' etc. cited already to illustrate mādhurya.

According to Daṇḍin, Kānti is the quality of agreeableness liked by all people by reason of its conformity to popular ideas, and it is seen in conversations and also in description.[33] Vāmana defining it as the brilliance or refineness of words, clarifies in vṛtti that kānti is nothing but richness of words, without which a composition appears to be a mere copy only. [34] According to Dr. D.K. Gupta, [35] Daṇḍin's Kānti is the atiśayokti figure with the difference that while the latter transgresses the worldly usage, the former conforms to it. Jagannātha, however, brings out a total change in the conception of this guṇa over Vāmana's definition and improves upon it by giving a new explanation to it.

Samādhi consists in the mixture of laxity and looseness in a composition in an orderly way (RG, p.72).Vāmana describes it as

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symmetry due to orderly ascent and descent, that is, when the heightening effect is toned down by softening effect and vice versa (Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra III. 1.19). Jagannātha remarks that this mixture of compactness and looseness is nothing but orderly ascent and descent. The other order of these two distinguishes samādhi from prasāda. In prasāda, laxity and compactness are mixed in opposite way. Samādhi is illustrated by the following verse.

svarganirgatanirargalagangātungabhanguratarangasakhānāṁ
kevalāmṛtamucaṁ vacananāṁ yasya lāsyagṛhamāsyasorojaṁ//

'Whose lotus-like face is the dancing hall of words showering embrosia and the friend of high waves of the Ganges which emerges from heaven and has no obstacle in her course.'

In the verse quoted above, there is ascent in the first half of the śloka, and in the third foot there is descent. Though there are letters suggestive of mādhurya in portion of the verse beginning with 'Gangā' etc., these letters entering into long compound, have not given rise to mādhurya. So this is an illustration of samādhi.

Jagannātha's Treatment of Arthaguṇas

Having elucidated the ten śabda-guṇas, Jagannātha deals with ten arthaguṇas of Vāmana and other older writers. The nomenclature of them is same as that of the śabda-guṇas. But in his expositions, Jagannātha has tried to offer new definitions of some of them with improvement upon Vāmana.

1. Śleṣa- When the actions of the clever, their concealment and their argument in support of it are described in one place so that their mutual relationship is not cut off, then such arthaghaṭanā is śleṣa. Vāmana defines it as coalescence or co-mingling of many ideas (Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra, 3.2.4). In vṛtti, Vāmana says that this ghatanā is nothing but krama, Kautilya anulvaṇatva and upattiyoga. Vāmana's conception of arthaśleṣa is identical with that of Bhoja. (vide, Dr. Raghavan, Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, p.307).

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Jagannātha has not cited any illustration of artha śleṣa, but Nāgeśa has referred to the following verse from Amaruśataka as an example:

dṛṣṭvaikāsanasamsthite priyatame paścādupetya darā-
dekasyā nayane nimīlya vihitakrīḍānubandhacchalaḥ/
īṣadvakrītakandharaḥ sapulaka-premobcasanmānasā-
mantārhāsalasatkapolaphalakāṁ dhūrtoparāṁ cumbati//

Having seen two beloved ladies, the wicked lover, having advanced further, closed the eyes of one of them under the pretext of fun and then turning his neck slightly, he kissed the other who was horripilated due to excessive love with her cheeks swelling up.'

2. Prasāda, according to Jagannātha is the clearness of meaning due to the employment of those padas which are absolutely necessary to convey the meaning. Paṇḍit Mathuranath Sastri clearly brings out the purport in his Sarālā – yāvān arthastānyeva padāni, arthapekṣayā na nyunāni na cādhikani padāni yatra' (Rasagangādhara, p.73, foot-note). For example – 'kamalānukāri vadanaṁ kila tasyāh (her face imitates lotuses). The counter example is 'kamalakāntyanukāri vaktraṁ' (Her face imitates the beauty of a lotus). Here the word 'kānti' is redundant.

3. Samatā – This is the evenness of ideas due to the non-relinquishment of its proper order. This exactly follows Vāmana. It is illustrated by the following verse:

hariḥ pitā harirmātā harirbhrātā hariḥ suhṛd/
hariṁ sarvatra paśyāmi hareranyanna bhāti me//

'Hari is my father, Hari is my mother, Hari is my brother, Hari is my friend. I see Hari everywhere; except Him, nothing appears to me'.

If however 'Viṣṇurbhrātā' is used in place Harirbhrātā, the natural order would be broken and this will lead to the doṣa, prakrama-bhanga.

4. Mādhurya – It is the strikingness of an expression resulting from its statement in different styles. This strikingness of utterance is not vakrokti of Bhāmaha or of Daṇḍin. Vakrokti, according to Daṇḍin, is the fundamental principle underlying all figurative examples. Jagannāth's conception of mādhurya as strikingness of utterance is his

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own creation. It results from statements made in an impressive periphrastic manner for special charm, e.g. 'vidhattāṁ nihśaṅkaṁ... jāgarti bhavati' (Rasagangādhara, p. 74).

'Let the creator be engaged in his contemplation', let Hari enjoy sleep on the śeṣanāga, let Hara dance incessantly. But if you remain awake fulfilling my desire, what is the use of purification or of penance, charity or sacrifice?'

Here the intended meaning of the verse is – 'While you are there to fulfill my desire, what is the use of the Creator, Hari etc.? But this very idea has been conveyed by different modes of expression like 'sleeping happily,' etc. Otherwise, it would have been a faulty statement (anavikṛtatva).

5. Sukumāratā – This is freedom from harshness on account of the absence of inauspicious idea like, sudden grief etc., e.g., 'tvarayā yānti pānthóyaṁ priyāvirahakātaraḥ.'

'This traveller, who is suffering from the pang of separation from his beloved goes swiftly.' Here the replacement of 'viraha' by 'maraṇa' would lead to disagreeable or inauspicious ideas.

6. Arthavyakti – It is the peculiar description of the action (kriyā) and nature of a thing. In Vāmana, it is the explicitness of ideas which makes the nature of things clear.[36] Vāmana's arthavyakti can be included in the svabhāvokti alaṁkāra of Daṇḍin and other later writers. Bhoja defines it as the vivid portrayal of the nature of an object.[37] According to Dr. Raghavan, Bhoja[38] borrows the phrase 'sākṣātkathana' from Daṇḍin's definition of svabhāvokti. But anticipating that the recognition of arthavyakti will remove the necessity of svābhāvokti alaṁkāra, Bhoja brings out the difference by stating that arthavyakti is the portrayal of the essential nature of things while svabhāvokti is that of the temporary nature of things.

Paṇḍitarāja illustrates this guṇa by the verse –

gurumadhye kamalākṣi kamalakṣeṇa prahartukāmaṁ māṁ/
radayantritarasanāgraṁ taralitanayanaṁ nivārayaṁ-cakre//

'The lotus-eyed one, in company with her elders, being desirous of hurting me with her lotus-eye, prohibited me controlling her tip of tongue with teeth.'

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7. Udārāta – In his conception of this ārthaguṇa, Paṇḍitarāja follows Vāmana mostly. To him, it is the avoidance of vulgar meaning, e.g., cumbanaṁ dehi me bhārye kāmacaṇḍālatṛptaye (O' my wife, kiss me for my satisfaction; I am a kāma candāla).

8. Ojas – (1) The expression of the meaning of a word by many sentences, (2) the expression of the meaning of many sentences by the use of a single word, (3) the use of many sentences for the expression of what can be expressed by one sentence or (4) vice-versa and (5) the effectiveness of epithet— these are the five varieties of ojas. Vāmana[39] describes ojas as the maturity of conception and he enumerates five varieties of praudhi[40]—padārthe vākya- vacanaṁ, vākyārthe padābhidhanaṁ, vyāsa, samāsa, svabhiprāyatva. It is evident that Jagannātha, here, follows Vāmana and as such, the criticism levelled against Vāmana is applicable to him also. Actually there is no justification of bringing all these under the head of prauḍhi. As Dr. Raghavan rightly observes—"There is no logic in putting all these together under same name called prauḍhi and identifying that as ojas. Prauḍhi in general is a feature of the poet's genius and expression, and is of various kinds. Hemchandra offers the proper criticism of this ojas of Vāmana when he says—'it ya prauḍhiḥ ojas, tadvaicitramātraṁ' (p.195).[41]

9. Kānti—Jagannātha defines kānti as the prominence of rasa (dīptarasatvaṁ kāntiḥ). This is exactly the same as that of Vāmana.[42] Viśwanātha does not recognise kānti as a guṇa He includes it in rasadhvani and guṇībhūtavyanga—'rasadhvaniguṇibhūtavyangabhyāṁ kāntināmakaḥ' (Sāhityadarpaṇa VIII.5). However, from the standpoint of the rasa-theory, this guṇa is very important, for here in this guṇa, Vāmana brings in the idea of rasa giving an essential place in poetry, while on the other hand, Daṇḍni gives a lower position by bringing it in one of the alaṁkāras.

10. Samādhi is the treatment of a topic by a poet which is not treated by other poets or which is a mere shadow of what have been said by others (RG, p.77). Now the treatment of a topic by a particular poet is the knowledge of that poet concerned; it is the property of his antaḥkaraṇa. How can that be an arthaguṇa? Jagannātha says that

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though knowledge is the property of soul the idea (meaning) itself is the subject of knowledge and as such knowledge and idea are related through the relation of Viṣayatā. So it is an arthaguṇa (ideal guṇa).

To Vāmana, samādhi is nothing but the apprehension of the original meaning arising from the concentration of the mind (Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra, 3.2.7). But this is hardly an excellence. Vāmana says that meaning is two-fold — original and borrowed from others. Jagannātha borrows this idea from Vāmana and introduces in his definition. Daṇḍin, however, rightly remarks that samādhi is the richest treasure of poetry which all poets seek after.[43]

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3. Gupta, *A Criticial Study of Daṇḍin and His Works*, p. 143.
4. Kāvyālaṁkāra II, 1.2.3.
5. Bhoja's Śṃgāra Prakāśa, p 282.
6. Dr. D.K, Gupta, *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and His Works*, p. 143.
7. 'kāvyasobhāyāh kartāro dharmā gunāḥ', Kāvyālaṁkārā-sūtra, 3.1.1.
8. Nagendra, *Hindi Kāvyālaṁkāra Sutra*, 3.2.15.
9. De, *Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 10.
10. *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and His Works*, p. 45.
11. Dhvani Theory in Sanskrit Poetics, p. 133.
12. N.N. Chaudhury, *Kāvyatattvasamīkṣā*, p. 74.
13. 'gunādinirguṇakriyaḥ' - quoted by Dr. Sandhya Bhaduri in the Rasagangādhara, p. 246; vide, Bhāṣāpariccheda (ed. by P. Sastry)- atha dravyāśrita jneya nirguṇa niskriya guṇaḥ' (p. 396)
14. Dr. M.M. Sharma, *Dhvani Theory in Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 134.
15. Sandhya Bhaduri, *Rasagangādhara*, pp. 47-48 (foot-notes).
16. Kāvyādarśa 1.41.
17. D.K. Gupta, *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and His Works*, P. 147.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Hindi Rasagangādhara*, Introduction, p. 44.
20. Dr. Nagendra, *Hindi Kāvyalaṁkārasūtravṛtti*, Introduction, p.73.

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21. *Kavyādarśa* 1.43.
22. *Hindi Kavyālaṁkāra Sutra* 3.1.11.
23. *Kavyādarśa*, 1.45
24. *Kavyaprakāśa*, VIII. 76
25. *Kavyālaṁkārasūtra*, 3.1.6.
26. D.K. Gupta, *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and His Works*, p. 151.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
28. 'aniṣṭhāraksaraprāyaṁ sukumaramitiṣyate,' *Kavyaadarśa*, 1.69.
29. C. S.M. Sastry, Kāvyādarśa (ed.), p. 83.
30. Dr. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, II, p. 234.
31. *Kavyādarśa*, p. 88.
32. Gupta, *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and His Works*, p. 157.
33. *Kavyādarśa*, 1.85.
34. *Kavyālaṁkārasūtra* 3.1. 25 and Vrtti on it.
35. *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and His Works*, p. 158-59.
36. *Kavyālaṁkarasūtra*, 3.2.4 and Vrtti on it.
37. *Saraswati Kanthābharana*, ed. by A. Barooah, p. 24.
38. Bhoja's Śṃgāra prakasa, p. 134.
39. *Kavyālaṁkārasūtra*, 3.2.2.
40. Jagannātha calls it pratipadanavaicitram (RG, p. 75)
41. Bhoja's Śṃgāra Prakāśa, p. 287.
42. *Kavyālaṁkārasūtra*, 3.2.25.
43. *Kavyādarśa*, 1.100.

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FIVE

DHVANI THEORY OF JAGANNĀTHA

Dhvani Theory in Sanskrit Poetics

The concept of dhvani or suggestion is one of the greatest contributions of Indian Poetics. Before the advent of the Dhvani theory, the aesthetic judgment was concerned with the artifice of external decorations and those theorists tried their best to discover the beauty in the meanings of words in sentence. They, no doubt, were aware of the aesthetic delight, but as they applied their minds exclusively to the artificial embellishments in standard language, they took the study of poetry as a discipline in artifice. These earlier aestheticians held no unanimous opinion about the sole standard of literary criticism. Some of them preferred artificial embellishment either to aesthetic experience of emotions or to the finding out of the suggested meaning. Others shifted their emphasis to the organic unity of literature and consequently laid emphasis upon aesthetic experience of emotion as an ideal standard of literary criticism. As for example, Bharata acknowledged a drama as the masterpiece of literary production. But he was unaware of the due

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importance of the great epics and lyrics and prose romances. As from time to time the emphasis on selection of critical standard changed according to the individual choice of a literary critic, the earlier age could not select any ideal standard for critical estimation. With the promulgation of the Dhvani theory as the sole standard of literary criticism, a revolutionary challenge came to the literary critic. Some proclaimed the discovery of dhvani as the sine qua non of literary criticism. Others begged to differ from this school and chose the aesthetic experience of emotion as the most reliable standard of literary criticism. They certainly do not minimise the efficacy of dhvani. Rather, they have pointed out that dhvani is only a means to an end but not an end in itself. Thus they acknowledged dhvani, but subordinated it to the aesthetic experience.

According to the Dhvani school, the suggested sense is the most excellent of all literary beauties; it is the soul of poetry. All other rhetorical principles like alaṁkāra, guṇa etc. are subordinate to it. So with the advent of this school, poetry came to be viewed as a composite whole; other factors constitute the formal arrangement of it. The Dhvanikāra is the first literary critic who founded a school in which all earlier concepts were properly assimilated. Accepting the concept of dhvani as a central point, this theory brings a marked change in the concept of poetry which revolutionises all other standards of criticism in vogue.

The concept of dhvani is nothing but the implication of the latent import of the Bharata's rasa-sūtra as applied in poetical context. So what was implicit in Bharata becomes explicit in Anandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka. Bharata maintained that in dramatic process, no meaning or sense could be had without rasa (na hi rasādṛte kaścidarthaḥ pravartate, Nātya Śāstra, ch. VI). But he took into account the importance of rasa in connection with drama only. It was, however, the great Kasmirian scholar Anandavardhana who built up a complete theory where he demonstrated the all important nature of rasa in poetry and its supremacy over all other forms of excellence. So MM. P.V. Kane rightly regards the Dhvani-theory as an extension of the Rasa-

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theory and this theory took over the idea of rasa into the field of poetic artifice.[1]

Like Bharata, Ānandavardhana also accepted rasa as the most important element in poetry. He went a step further to establish rasa as the soul of poetry by referring to the Rāmāyaṇa episode of Vālmīki about the origin of the epic.[2] It was at the pathetic sight of the incident of the death of Kraunca at the hand of the cruel hunter that Vālmīki's poetic inspiration was roused and this ultimately resulted in the "utterance in the well-formed metre'. Thus, according to Anandavardhana, poetry proceeds from the heart of the poet when it is full of intense feeling of sentiment.

The basic implication of Bharata's rasa-formula is that the actor imitates the vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas and this imitation or representation by actors make them relishable to the spectators. Judged by this explanation, Bharata's concept of rasa was an objective one signifying an aesthetic situation in drama. The dhvani theorists, however, maintain that the basic mental state is most important in poetry and as such in Dhvani theory, rasa becomes a subjective process. The poet does not transfer his own feeling to the reader. On the other hand, the reader relishes his own feelings. "The lasting poem is not the result of pouring out personal emotion for the only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is finding an 'objective correlative'; in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that particular emotion; such that when external facts, which must terminate in sensitory experience are given, the emotion is immediately evoked'.[3] Ānandavardhana also holds the view that rasa is suggested and not communicated. To give an explanation of the process — how rasa is suggested, he propounds the theory of Dhvani in his Dhvanyāloka.

Before introducing his novel theory of dhvani Anandavardhana states that the joy of poetry which consists in the meaning of words, is of two kinds — the expressed sense and the implied sense.[4] The first sense is the superficial meaning of words and is conveyed by the power of abhidhā. The second sense is a deeper one, conveyed by the power of suggestion. The function of suggestion is a unique feature typical to the

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poetic expression only. This is the secret of the composition of the great poets, which makes them charming. Ānandavardhana compares the sense conveyed by the power of suggestion to the loveliness of a woman. Just as the loveliness of women is something over and above their limbs, so also in the words of great poets there is a peculiar charm which is over and above the words and their meanings, and this is called dhvani.[5] It is the very secret of literature and can be grasped by very few gifted and responsive critics. So Ānandavardhana says that the knowledge of words and their meanings will not be helpful in appreciating the suggested or the implied sense; it can be appreciated by the critics of culture and taste who are receptive to the aesthetic sentiments[6]. Abercrombie has rightly remarked — 'Nevertheless, language in literature must be made to mean very much more than the logical or grammatical meaning which is given by its syntax — the orderly arrangement of its parts. In fact, literary language differs from ordinary language precisely by conscious and deliberate use in it of powers additional to the force of grammatical meaning: powers which are only casually employed in common speech'.[7]

The upholders of the Dhvani theory declare that dhvani or suggested sense is the soul of poetry. Anandavardhana defines dhvani in the following kārikā —

yatrārthaḥ śabdo vā tamarthamupasarjanīkṛtasvārthau/
Vyaṅktaḥ kāvyaviśeṣaḥ sa dhaniriti sūribhiḥ kathitaḥ//

(Dhvanyāloka 1.13)

If, after the appearance of the expressed sense, either the sound (śabda) or the meaning (artha) completely subordinating themselves, gives rise to another sense, then, this is called dhvani. This statement of Dhvanikāra precludes samāsokti and other alaṁkāras from the domain of dhvani. In the instances of samāsokti and other alaṁkāras, the suggested meaning is less important to the poetic intention than the direct meaning. This meaning is subordinate to the expressed meaning; they are classified as a type of inferior poetry. This is not dhvani kāvya (cf. 'vyangaprādhānye hi dhvaniḥ/na caitad samāsoktyādiṣu asti', Dhvanyāloka, Vṛtti on 1.3).

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Before the enunciation of the doctrine of Dhvani, the rasa, rīti and alaṁkāra theories were established by the supporters of these principles of criticism. These theorists gave emphasis on one of the aspects of literary criticism to the exclusion of others. Though they were not conversant with the Dhvani theory, the origin of the concept of dhvani is found in their treatment of principles of literary criticism. Dr. Raghavan has pointed out how the origin of the concept of suggestion is to be found in some of the alaṁkāras treated by Bhāmaha and other rhetoricians.[8] Ānandavardhana also admits that these theorists, though ignorant of the Dhvani theory almost touched the fringes of suggestion. However, the word 'dhvani' is not the creation of the Sanskrit rhetoricians. It is coined by the grammarians and Ānandavardhana has borrowed it from them. The main stream of the doctrine of Dhvani is shrouded in the Sphoṭa or Śabda-Brahma theory of the grammarians. It was mainly propounded by the grammarian philosopher Bhartṛhari in his celebrated book, Vākyapadīya. The word 'dhvani' as used by the grammarians manifests the spoṭa. Ānandavardhana also holds that a word is capable of conveying more than one idea at the same time. The first verse of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya supports this principle:

anādinidhanaṁ Brahma śabdatattvaṁ yadakṣaraṁ
vivartate arthabhāven prakriyā jagato yathā /

According to Bhartṛhari sphoṭa is the ultimate principle of existence which has neither birth nor death like Brahman in the Vedanta philosophy. "The sphoṭa is like the fine air which pervades all concrete objects and like the same becomes perceptible when manifested by its own means".[9] On the analogy of the sphoṭa theory of the grammarians, Anandavardhana propounds the celebrated Dhvani theory and in doing so, he acknowledges his gratitude to the Vaiyākaraṇas in clear terms-

prathamo hi vidvāmsaḥ vaiyākaraṇāḥ,
vyākaraṇamūlatvāt sarvavidyānāṁ/ te ca
śrūyamāṇeṣu varṇeṣu dhvaniriti vyavaharanti/
tathaivanyaistanma tānusāribhiḥ sūribhiḥ
kāvyatattvārthadarśibhirvācyavācakasammiśrāḥ

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śabdā tmā kāvyamiti vyapadeśa vyanjakatva-
sāmyād dhanirityuktaḥ/Dhvanyāloka, pp.134-35.

Though Ānandavardhana has earned the distinction of establishing the Dhvani theory on a firm footing by his convincing and cogent reasoning, he does not claim himself to be its original innovator. He clearly states that dhvani as the soul of poetry was declared already by scholars (kāvyasyatmā dhvaniriti Budhairyaḥ samāmnātapūrvaḥ). Abhinavagupta commenting on this Kārikā in his Locana states that this theory was stated in unbroken chain of traditions by the previous scholars, though, of course, it was not treated by them in any particular book.[10] The dhvani theorists do not assume the role of irrefutable śāstrakāras; rather they claim that the principle of dhvani has it sanction at least in the practice from the great poets like Vyāsa, Vālmīki and others (cf. rāmāyaṇamahābhāratasabdenādikaveḥ pravṛtisarvaireva sūrivirasyadaraḥ kṛta iti darśayati' - Locana, p.38). The Dhvanyāloka abounds in many quotations from Vyāsa, Vālmīki and Kālidāsa, which are shown by Ānandavardhana as the finest specimens of Dhvani Kāvya.

With the establishment of the Dhvani theory, the suggestion of sentiment has been given the place of pride in poetry and it came to occupy the position of soul of poetry. With the emergence of this theory, alaṁkāra, rīti and guṇa, so long accepted by different schools as most essential elements in poetry came to be rejected as non-essential. The existence of guṇa, alaṁkāra or rīti in a Kāvya is conditioned by exigencies or rása only. M.M. Kuppuswami Sastri aptly brings out the relative importance of dhvani and other principles of literary criticism in the following sentence — 'These may be regarded as constituting the byways of literary criticism and their existence or the excuse for their existence, chiefly consists in their being correlated to the suggested sense, or to the suggested elements in an appropriate manner'.[11] Thus, the Dhvani school gives not only the full importance to the old idea of rasa or aesthetic relish in the art of poetry as in the cognate art of drama, but also harmonises the other important elements in its comprehensive theory.[12]

The theory of suggestion is an epoch-making contribution in the history of Sanskrit criticism. Having established a case of suggestion in

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poetry, this theory recognises the supreme importance of the imaginative faculty of the poet and the sense of propriety. This theory is the meeting point of all concepts of Sanskrit criticism. It removes the misunderstanding regarding different concepts of the Alaṁkāra Śāstra. Giving suggestion a supreme position in a Kāvya, it tries to synthesise all other rhetorical concepts. In other words, it considers alaṁkāra, guṇa, rīti and doṣa only in relation to rasa. These concepts have their claim in poetry provided they contribute to the aesthetic relish. So dhvani is a mahāviṣaya and rasa, alaṁkāra and vastu are its constituents.[13] The success of this school of criticism lies in the fact that here we meet for the first time an honest attempt to bring the old concept of rasa to its full importance in the art of poetry and to harmonise all other concepts into its comprehensive theory. Though the Dhvani school has leaning towards the rasa-dhvani, it has widened the scope of dhvani by admitting alaṁkāra dhvani and vastu-dhvani at par with it in poetry. The general rhetorical doctrines outlined by the Dhvani school were almost universally accepted by later writers on poetics. Even the formidable critics of Anandavardhana - Bhaṭṭanāyaka and Vyaktivivekakāra - accepted the suggested sense, though they tried to explain it in a different way. The attempts of the later writers following the Dhvani school consisted only in working out the details of Dhvani theory and practically, they had nothing new to add to this standard principle of literary criticism. Thus the dhvani school became a standard principle which holds good even today in different times and climes.[14]

Jagannātha's Position in the Dhvani School

Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha was a last giant writer on Sanskrit poetics. He flourished in a period when already the various theories of Sanskrit poetics were standardised and systematised on a firm basis. The theory of dhvani (suggestion) of the Kasmirian school headed by Ānandavardhana not only established the concept of Dhvani in poetry, but also worked up and rationalised into a synthetic and comprehensive systems — all other concepts of Alaṁkāra Śāstra. Another later Kasmirian rhetorician Mammaṭa established the Dhvani-theory for all

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time to come. His magnum opus, the Kāvya Prakāśa became a standard text-book and dominated the thoughts of generations of theorists who came after him.[15] The writers of this new school of Sanskrit poetics of the post-dhvani period accepted the general principles of literary criticism laid down in the Dhvani-theory; but in practice, they were not totally free from the influence of the writers of the old schools.[16] These writers were not lacking in originality; they were gifted writers. But rightly or wrongly, they brought the old ideas of Sanskrit criticism into the elaboration of their new theory of poetry.

In the post-dhvani period, Jagannātha is the last upholder of the doctrine of Dhvani. His Rasagangādhara helped a great deal in establishing the authority of Dhvani school of Anandavardhana finally. Although he adheres mainly to the principles of Dhvani school and accepts rasa as the most essential element in poetry, he did not follow it blindly. He went a step further than Abhinavagupta and Memmaṭa to give a new colour to the doctrine of Dhvani. His treatment of the doctrine is a novel one wherein lies his originality as a learned critic. Although he does not refer to dhvani as the soul of poetry, his four-fold division of poetry is based on this theory itself. According to MM. Kuppuswami Sastri, the recognition of four classes of poetry by Paṇḍitaraja, viz., uttamottama, uttama, madhyama and adhama is a sort of amendment to Ānandavardhana's classification of dhvani. The same learned scholar holds that this amendment of Jagannātha is not an improvement upon the original classification; it simply brings out what Anandavardhana sought to explain towards the end of his Dhvanyāloka.[17] Another novel feature of Jagannātha's conception of dhvani is that unlike Ānandavardhana and other supporters of the Dhvani school, he does not bring rasa-dhvani, bhāvadhvani and others under the asaṁlakṣakramadhvani, but puts them under saṁlakṣakrama dhvani. This deviation may appear something absurd in case of a staunch supporter of the Dhvani school like Paṇḍitarāja. But this makes him a true critic in the history of the division of dhvani. Thus, though he remains faithful to the recognized standard, his outlook is a progressive one. This aspect of a critic has been aptly emphasised by F.E. Sparshott - 'The best criticism of anything, then, will be such an

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analysis or description of it as determines a reliable estimate of its value in accordance with recognised or recognizable standards'.[18]

Another striking feature of Jagannātha's treatment of dhvani is that he does not recognise innumerable varieties of suggestion as admitted by other advocates of the school, like Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha, Vidyānātha and others. His non-recognition of some varieties of dhvani is more practical rather than theoretical.

According to Jagannātha, ramaṇiyatā is the criterion of a Kāvya and accordingly he divides it on the basis of the degree of this sort of charm. As a champion of the Dhvani theory, however, he considers rasa and bhāva Kāvyas as Kāvya par excellence. But unlike the supporters of the Dhvani school, he also recognises that variety of poetry as the second variety which contains nice specimen of poetic figures, though the suggested sense therein is rendered secondary. Following the tradition of Dhvani school he recognises suggestion as the soul of poetry and regards the poetics figures (alaṁkāras) as ramaṇīyatāprayojaka (cf. athāsyaprāgabhihitalakṣaṇasya kāvyātmāno vyangyasya ramaṇīyatāprayojakā alaṁkāra nirūpyante, Rasagangādhara, p.203). He also criticises the neo-critics who hold the view that no ancient rhetoricians like Bhāmaha, Udbhata, etc. other than Dhvanikāra had not mentioned dhvani or guṇibhūtavyanga and as such they did not recognise dhvani. He maintains that these rhetoricians recognised some varieties of guṇibhūtavyangya by recognising the figures like vyājastuti, aprastutaprasaṁsā and samāsokti etc., and all varieties of suggested sense were included by them in the fold of paryāyokti (dhvanikārāt prācinairbhāmahodbhataprabhṛtibhiḥ svagrantheṣu kutrāpi dhvaniguṇibhūtyavyangyādiśabdā na prajukta ityetavataiva tairdhvanyādayo na svīkriyanta ityādhunikānāṁ vācojuktirajuktaiva/ yataḥ samāsokti vyājastutyaprastutaprasaṁsādyalaṁkāraṇirūpaṇena kiyantopi guṇibhūtavyangyabhedastairapi nirūpitāḥ/aparaśca sarvepi vyangaprapancaḥ paryāyoktakukṣau nikṣiptaḥ-Rasagangādhara, p.554). His contention is that in figures like dīpaka and others, there is guṇibhūta vyangya, and so they are examples of guṇibhutavyangya Kāvyas. But in those ornate expressions having paryāyokti and

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aprastutsprasamsā based on similarity, the suggested sense is prominent. According to Prof. Siva Prasad Bhattacharyya, this contention of Jagannātha does not go against Ānandavardhana, it can rather be supported by the statement from the Dhvanyāloka itself.[19]

In spite of his admission of some alaṁkāra-kavyas in the fold of the best type of poetry, Jagannātha recognised the importence of suggestion in poetry. His definition of poetry as 'words conveying beautiful sense' is a comprehensive one which includes in its scope, all aspects of dhvani, though he expressly recognised rasa-dhvani as the most charming one (evaṁ pancātmake dhvanau paramaṛamaṇīyatayā rasadhvanestadatmā rasastāvadabhidhīyate - Rasagangādhara, p.25). Indeed, it is significant to note that though Paṇḍitarāja indulges in the elaborate treatment of the alaṁkāras, he does not minimise the all important nature of dhvani. To him alaṁkāras are mere vāg-vikalpas, but they may result in charming expression. His ramaṇiyatā has a broader connotation which includes all kinds of charmingness and so he tries to show the role of alaṁkāras as adding aesthetic beauty in poetry[20]. His interpretation of the role of the alaṁkāras in supplementing the aesthetic beauty does not go against the tradition of the Dhvani school, it is rather in accordance with the statement of Ānandavardhana himself - 'vyangyatve pyalamkārāṇaṁ prādhānyavivakṣayameva satyāṁ dhvanavantahpātaḥ (Dhvanyāloka Vṛtti on Kārikā II, 29). Thus Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha succeeds in giving dhvani a honourable position by bringing the beauty of form and of content on the same level. In his treatment of doctrine of dhvani, he gives it a supreme position which betrays his aesthetic experience of a critic mixed with the creative vision of poet.

Jagannātha's Classification of Dhvani

Dhvani has been primarily divided by Jagannātha into two divisions—Abhidhāmūlā and Lakṣaṇāmūlā. Of them, the first is based on the primary meaning of the expression and the second is based on the indicated sense. The former again is of three varieties based on rasa, vastu and alaṁkāras. In rasa-dhvani, the order of sequence of time

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between the cognition of the expressed sense and indicated sense is not perceptible. The expressed sense would immediately lead to the realisation of rasa. So this is called asaṁlakṣyakramavyangyadhvani. In this classification are included rasadhvani, bhāvadhvani, rasābhāsadhvani, bhāvādhāsabhvani, bhāvāśantidhvani, bhāvodayadhvani bhāvasandhidhvani and bhāvāsabalatādhvani. The Abhidhāmūladhvani and Lakṣanāṃūladhvani are again popularly called vivakṣitanyapara-vācyadhvani and avivakṣita-vācyadhvani respectively. Lakṣanāṃūla-dhvani is again of two varieties—arthāntarasamkramita and atyantatiraskṛtadhvani.

Classification of Saṁlaksyakramavyangya -dhvani

In this class of dhvani, where the expressed sense conveys the suggested sense, the order of sequence is perceptible. So it is called Saṁlakṣakramavyangya. It is of two types—śabdaśaktimūlā and arthaśaktimūlā. In śabdaśaktimūlā type, the suggested meaning is based on the force of the word, while in the arthaśaktimūla type, the suggestion proceeds from the meaning. The criterion of determining whether suggestion proceeds from the word or from its expressed sense depends upon the power of retention of effect in the synonymous diction. If in a certain case, the suggestion remains in tact even after the substitution of a word by other synonyms of the word, it is regarded as arthaśaktyudbhava; it, on the other hand, the change of the word vitiates the suggestion, it is regarded as śabdaśaktyudbhava (based on word). The suggested sense in the saṁlakṣyakrama vyangya is always represented either by a figure of speech or by a bare matter of fact (vastu). Vastu, here, should be understood in the sense of simple statement of a fact without any ornamental figure of speech. So suggestion based upon the force of word is of two kinds—representing vastu and alaṁkāras. The second variety, viz., suggestion based on sense is of eight varieties. Because as stated above, viz., suggested sense primarily is either in the form of vastu or of alaṁkāras. In poetry, these two again are found to be natural (having a real existence in the world) and created by the imaginative faculty of the poet. In Sanskrit

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Alaṁkāra Śāstra these two are known respectively 'Svataḥ sambhāvī' (self existent) and 'kavi-praudhoktisiddha' (all accepted assumption of the poet). These four varieties suggesting vastu and alaṁkāras separately come to eight in total. Thus arthaśaktimūladhvani is subdivided into eight varieties and as such according to our Paṇḍitarāja, saṁlakṣyakramavyangya comes to be ten in total.

After this classification, Jagannātha rejects the twelve-fold classification of asaṁlakṣakramavyangya of kāvyaprakāśakāra who admits another four varieties of arthaśaktimūladhvani whose existence depends upon the bold assertion of some character portrayed by the poet (kavinivaddhavaktṛprauḍhoktiniṣpanna). Paṇḍitarāja's contention is that as in one type of this dhvani, suggested object is admitted to be created by the imagination of a poet, there is no cogent reason to recognise another class of suggested object created by the imagination of a speaker portrayed by the poet. There is no difference between the suggested meaning whether it is created by the imagination of a poet or by the imagination of a speaker portrayed by the poet. In both cases, it is the imaginative faculty of the poet that is responsible for creation in literature. So, according to Paṇḍitarāja, no variety of dhvani like 'kavinivaddhavaktṛprauḍhokti' other than kaviprauḍhoktisiddha should be recognised.

Rasa as Saṁlakṣyakramavyangya

After illustrating the various kinds of traditional classification of dhvanis, Jagannātha concludes his discussioin of dhvani having established rasa-dhvani as saṁlakṣyakramavyangya which bears the stamp of his originality. Ancient rhetoricians like Mammaṭa and others regard rasa, bhāva, rasabhāsa, bhāvābhasa etc. as asaṁlaksyakramavyangya (whose order of sequence is not perceptible). Accordingly, Paṇḍitarāja also maintains that in a clear context, when vibhāva, anubhāva and vyabhicāribhāvas are easily understood by a cultured Sahṛdaya, he immediately realises rasa or aesthetic pleasure. To speak in other words, he first understands the expressed meanings of the

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words and this understanding of the expressed meanings leads him to realise rasa which becomes asaṁlakṣyavyangya. This is so called because in the blissful realisation of this variety of suggestion, the order of sequence from the expressed meaning to the suggested sense is not peerceived. If, on the other hand, the context is not clear but is found out after due consideration of many facts, or if the vibhāvas are to be inferred, then the apprehension of these vibhāvas, anubhāvas etc. is delayed, and the suggestion of the idea from these are also naturally delayed. Then the suggestion of rasa becomes saṁlakṣyavyangya. As an instance of this, Jagannātha cites the verse 'talpagatāpi ca sutanu' etc. quoted as an uttomottama variety of poetry (Rasagangādhara, p.14). Here in this verse , the meaning of the word 'samprati' is understood late after the investigation of context only. Formerly, the behaviours of the nāyikā as a newly married lady was different, but on the previous night of the departure of her husband to a distant place, her slow removal of the hand of her husband suggests a different attitude of her mind. The understanding of this idea becomes possible only after a long time when the context becomes clear, and so this is an instance of asaṁlakṣavyangya.

In support of his argument, Paṇḍitarāja quotes the statements of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta in connection with the verse quoted from Kālidāsa's Kumārsambhava—

evamvādini devarṣau pārśve pituradhomukhī/

līlākamalapatrāṇi gaṇayāmāsa pārvatī//

This is an instance of saṁlakṣyakramavyangya. Here Pārvati's modesty has been suggested and this is understood only when the context is known fully. Pārvati's counting of the petals of the lotus at her hand with her downcast head is not due to her natural shyness; it is due to her modesty at the moment when sage Angirasas began to talk about her marriage to her father Himavān. So this is an instance of asaṁlakṣakramavyangya. Abhinavagupta[21] also remarks that, though rasas, bhāvas etc., are always suggested and are not described they are not always asaṁlakṣyavyangya. When rasa is suggested from vibhāvas

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anubhāvas or from vyabhicāribhāvas, it becomes asaṁlakṣyakramavyangya.

In support of his contention, Jagannātha states that when a bhāva is suggested as saṁlakṣyakramavyangya, then it becomes an instance of vastudhvani and not of rasadhavni. Sthāyibhāvas like rati and others, transform into rasa by the causes- vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhavas directly, and so the sequence of order from the expressed meaning to the suggested sense is not perceptible. Actually, rasa-experience is a kind of super-mundane delight realised from the sthāyibhāvas directly and immediately. But the suggestion of bhāvas like rati and others as instances of saṁlakṣakramavyangya are explained by Jagannātha as the cases of vastudhvani only.

Process of comprehension of the non-contextual sense

After giving the various classifications of dhvani, Jagannātha proceeds to discuss the process of comprehension of the non-contextual sense of a homonym. He enumerates three views of the ancient rhetoricians and examines them thoroughly and; then he tries to give his own view.

(1) According to the first view, Jagannātha points out, in those cases where nānārtha śabdas are used, the hearer will understand all the meanings - the contextual and non-contextual, since there is sanketa in all of them. Then a doubt arises in the mind of the hearer as to the exact nature of sense to be conveyed by the term. He will ascertain the intention of the speaker through context and others and then, there will be recollection of the contextual sense which will be comprehended by them. Anticipating the objection why the second recollection does not cover both the contextual and non-contextual senses like the first recollection, the upholders of this theory hold that the knowledge of the context or the ascertainment of the intention of the speaker itself stands on the way of recollecting the non-contextual sense. In other words, these theorists maintain that to explain the process of cognition of the contextual meaning of a homonym, the knowledge of the context or the tātparyajnāna must be accepted as an obstruction in the recollection of

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the non-contextual sense. So these theorists refer to the famous lines of Bharṭṛhari—

saṁyogo viprayogaśca sāhacaryaṁ virodhitā
arthah prakaraṇaṁ lingaṁ śabdasyanyasya sannidhiḥ/
samarthyamauciti.deśaḥ kālo viśesasmritihetavaḥ
śabdārthasyanavacchede viśeṣasmṛtihetavaḥ//

and explain the expression ' anavacchede' in the sense of 'doubt as to the intention of the speaker' and 'viśeṣasmṛtihetavaḥ' as signifying the idea of recollecting one sense only. And in the sentence 'surabhim ,a)msaṁ bhakṣaytai', the restrictive factor of the denotation obstructs the recollection of the sense of beef. So the power of denotation cannot bring that idea, and for its comprehension, one must take the help of vyanjanā. In reply to the argument that as the first recollection presents both the contextual and non-contextual, so the second recollection also should present the both, these theorists state that the knowledge of context and other restrictive factors standing in the way of remembrance of the non-contextual exists and as a result of this, the recollection of the non-contextual sense is obstructed. It also cannot be said that the knowledge of the context and other factors is capable of giving obstruction on the path of cognition caused through the power of suggestion. For, the knowledge of context and other factors can impede the cognition of sense in case of multimeaninged words, but vyanjanā itself is an exciting factor of giving obstruction to the restrictive factors to delimit the connotation of homonyms to a particular sense. In support of their theory, these theorists cite the following Kārikā from the Kāvya Prakāśa—

anekārthasya śabdsya vācakatve niyantrite/
saṁyogādyairavācyarthadhikṛtvyāprtiranjanaṁ//

which means that when samyoga and others restrict the function of denotation of a homonym, the non-primary sense is comprehended by the power of suggestion.

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2. Another school does not support the view of these theorists. It presents a different explanation of the process of cognition of the non-contextual meaning of a homonym. But it appears that this view has a very little difference from the former. Let us examine this view.

According to the first explanation, the theorists of this school point out, in case of verbal cognition of multi meaninged term, the intention of the speaker is an essential factor without which there cannot be any comprehension of sense of it. So, due to the ascertainment of the intention of the speaker by conjunction, disjunction etc., only that meaning of the homonym enter into association with the concepts of other words in the sentence, though of course both the contextual and non-contextual sense arise in the beginning. Other senses, however, are not taken into consideration to associate with the concepts of other terms. According to this school, the assumption of this process leaves no scope for postulating the recollection of one idea only. It also dispenses with the necessity of postulating restrictive factors of contexts and others in the process of verbal cognition of the non-contextual sense. Thus, in case of homonym, though the contextual and non-contextual senses are presented alike due to the intention of the speaker through context and others, it generates the verbal cognition of the contextual sense, and the comprehension of the non-contextual sense presented by the same term is not possible by any power other than vyañjanā. In other words, these theorists maintain that though a homonym presents both the contextual and non-contextual senses, it gives rise to the verbal cognition presenting the contextual sense only and the non-contextual sense is comprehended only by vyanjanā.

(3) The third school holds that both the contextual and non-contextual senses of a multi-meaninged word can be conveyed by abhidhā. It rejects the contention of the ancient rhetoricians that the comprehension of the sense of a homonym is based on hearer's knowledge of the context and the intention of the speaker. It also discards the view that the knowledge of speaker's intention is an obstruction on the path of recollecting the non-contextual sense when other working agents are present. When a statement 'payaḥ ramaṇīyaṁ' is made referring to milk only, an

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experienced man will understand both the contextual and non-contextual senses and will tell a man who does not know the context that the word 'payaḥ' in that particular statement means 'milk' and not 'water', though the word denotes both milk and water by the abhidhāśakti. Again, this school rejects the contention of the second school that one comprehends the contextual meaning with the help of tātparyajnāna and the non-contextual sense is conveyed by the power of vyanjanā. Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha raises two alternatives favouring the use of vyanjanā - whether vyanjanā is to be accepted in all cases of homonyms or in certain cases only. The first alternative is untenable on the ground that, when a homonym presents both the contextual and non-contextual senses, the contextual sense being brought by abhidhā and the non-contextual one by vyanjanā, then it is futile to consider the tātparyanirṇaya as factor for the comprehension of sense. Again, tātparyajnāna will have to be accepted as an obstruction in the comprehension of non-contextual sense. The second alternative also does not stand on the ground that tātparyajnāna is not an invariable condition of vyanjanā. It can suggest those meanings of words where there is no tātpryajnāna.

Again, it can be objected that the bearer possesses an extra-ordinary power which is the cause of giving rise to the power of vyanjanā in him and it is through this power that he can comprehend the charming sense of a homonym. Against this objection, Jagannātha points out, it can be said that the same power should revive the abhidhā śakti in the hearer which would enable him to understand the non-contextual sense as well. Thus with strong argument, Jagannātha refutes the view that in a homonym, the non-contextual sense is brought by vyanjanā.

Controverting the contention of those champions of vyanjana, Paṇḍitarāja tries to come to conclusive view. He maintains that in a homonym, the cognition of the non-contextual meaning is possible through the power of abhidhā. If, however, the non-contextual sense of a homonym is contradicted by our valid instrument of cognition, then abhidhā cannot signify it, but in such cases the help of vyanjanā is not sought. As a matter of fact, it is found that in most of the poetic

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figures like apahnuti, atiśayokti etc., where the primary meaning is contradicted by the instrument of cognition, vyanjanā is not resorted to. Similarly in case of a homonym where the non-contextual sense is contradicted by the valid instrument of cognition, verbal cognition is possible through abhidhā and not through vyanjanā. Jagannātha, however, says that there is definite scope for vyanjanā for verbal cognition in a homonym if there is similarity between the contextual and non-contextual senses.

Jagannātha further argues that vyanjanā has a definite field for operation in yogarudha words when they are used in their derivative senses. In case of yogarudha words, abhidhā conveys the derivative sense which is restricted to convention only; purely derivative sense cannot be conveyed by lakṣaṇā also. For all the conditions of lakṣaṇā are absent there. So the derivative sense of a yogarūdha word is cognised by vyanjanā. As an illustration, Paṇḍitarāja cites the verse -

abalānāṁ śriyaṁ hitvà vārivāhaih sahāniśaṁ
tiṣṭhanti capalā yatra sa kālayḥ samupasthitaḥ/

which suggests that some women of easy virtue who have stolen the property of the weak persons, roam with the water carriers. Here the words 'abalā', 'vārivāha' and 'capalā' are yogarūdha words. They cannot convey the above meaning by the power of abhidhā. This is, however, presented by vyanjanā. Thus, Jagannātha observes, in case of yogarūdha words, the derivative sense is congnised through vyanjanā.

Jagannātha, thus, has discussed the scope of vyañjanā in the process of comprehension of non-contextual sense and has controverted the thesis of the ancient writers that in a homonym, vyanjanā presents the non-contextual sense. He, however, makes a departure to state that vyañjanā does not cause the cognition of the non-contextual sense and that it conveyed by abhidhā śakti. He also establishes his contention that there is definite scope of vyañjanā in a yogarūdha word in suggesting the derivative sense which cannot be conveyed by abhidhā. This view point of Jagannātha is an improvement upon that of the ancients and for this he will always claim originality as a critic.

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SIX

ALAṀKĀRA THEORY OF JAGANNĀTHA

The Concept of Alaṁkāra

We cannot trace precisely the origin and chronology of literary criticism. There are a number of ancient literary critics who exist only in name without any extant work to their credit. Among the extant works on literary criticism we cannot fix a chronological order. Consequently we adopt a different device to arrange these works on literary criticism in a formal order. We assume the figure of speech to be its starting point as it has been discussed in one and all the works on literary criticism and this unbroken tradition is a proof of its being the starting point and common denominator of Sanskrit literary criticism. In Sanskrit, the figure of speech is called alaṁkāra. It is a general term like any common noun. The question does arise whether all the figures of speech possess some common property and how does it affect the basic character of a literary expression. The etymological meaning of the term alaṁkāra is decoration or ornament. In poetry, it means those factors which enhance the beauty of poetry and as such those rhetorical

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devices like anuprāsa, upamā, etc. are commonly signified by the term alaṁkāra. In this sense the term alaṁkāra stands as more or less a synonym of Rhetorics. But the term has a wider sense only. It covers the major part of what we call poetics and aesthetics today. It is in this wide sense that the expressions like Alaṁkāra Śāstra or Kāvyālaṁkāra are used.[1] The wider meaning of the term is grace or beauty and Alaṁkāra Śāstra is the 'science of beauty' in poetry. The ancient rhetoricians like Bhāmaha, Rudrata, etc. applied the term in this particular sense and named their works after this; of course, the term was limited to the entire assembling of rhetorical ornaments as means of poetic expresssion.[2] In other words, the term alaṁkāra has a double phase of meaning. In general sense it connotes the principle of beauty in poetry, but in particular sense it stands for the collective designation of all figures of speech. The concept of alaṁkāra from the modern standpoint will be discussed later on under the caption - Jagannātha's concept of alaṁkāra. First we shall discuss the development of the concept in the works of preceding authors.

Ancient rhetoricians like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin in their quest for poetic beauty discovered the principle of alaṁkāra and the study of poetry itself came to be named after this principle. Bhāmaha, in his Kāvyalaṁkāra (1.13) applies the term alaṁkāra to mean the figures of speech like rūpaka, upamā, etc. There he says that a poetic expression like a damsel's face, though beautiful does not shine if it be devoid of ornament. According to P.V. Nagasastry[3], this statement of Bhāmaha invites reference to the view of school according to which the beauty of a Kāvya consists in its rasa which results from the meanings of the words. So alaṁkāras that are related to meanings may bring beauty of rasa but those related to sound fail to do so. Bhāmaha, however, uses the term 'vakrokti' as the collective designation of all alaṁkāras and according to him, this is the underlying principle of alaṁkāras which brings beauty to poetry.[4] Daṇḍin, however, defines it as the characteristic attributes producing beauty in poetry.[5] Thus Daṇḍin's conception of alaṁkāras is nothing but the poetic beauty which is called by Vāmana, saundarya. In its comprehensive connotation he also includes guṇas like śleṣa etc. which are the life of Vaidarbha rīti.[6] Thus

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he makes the concept of alaṁkāra a wise one to accommodate other concepts in it.[7]

Vāmana has thrown much light on the concept of alaṁkāra. He defines it thus — saundaryaṁ alaṁkāraḥ (1.1.2). His conception of alaṁkāra has definitely a wider scope like that of Daṇḍin. According to him, it is the charm that makes a poem beautiful. So he says in his vṛitis — alaṁkṛtiralaṁkāraḥ/kāraṇavyutpatyā punaralaṁkāraśabdo'yam-upamādiṣu vartate (1.2.11). Thus he is using the term 'both as an abstract noun denoting embellishment and possessing a vast enough scope, and a noun signifying the means of embellishment'.[8] It is evident that alaṁkāra is the beautiful in poetry. It is a comprehensive term embracing all the elements of beauty of poetry within its scope. So he says that poetry is accepted for alaṁkāra and in his view both guṇas and alaṁkāras fall in the vast scope of beauty. But obviously there is a big gap of this idea of Vāmana with his other statement-'rītir-ā)tmā kāvyasya'. Just as in ancient Greek philosophy a distinction has been drawn between the form and matter, so in Vāmana's work, a distinction separates alaṁkāras, guṇas, etc. from rīti. Rīti is the very soul of poetry, that is, it imparts life to poetry. A dead body loses all its charms if the soul departs from it or is devoid of it. Similarly, a poem having all requisite elements which enhance its beauty, namely figures of speech, excellent properties known as guṇas and so on, will be bereft of all its charm if it has no rīti, that is, it is disproportionate. He means to say that an excess of figures of speech or excellent properties (guṇas) do not contribute to its worthy designation of a poetry. A proportionate use of them is the sole criterion of the inclusion of a particular piece of metrical composition in the class of poem. Hence we can assert firmly that Vāmana is both a critic of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha and a promulgator of the new norm of poetry.

A closer study of these views of ancient critics would make it sufficiently clear that these critics forshadowed the underlying principle of beauty behind different figures of speech and it is this principle which distinguishes poetry from the science (śāstra) and ordinary speech. Poetry is not a discourse, it is a revelation. So the language of poet is something different not only from common speech but also

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from scientific discourse. This distinguishing principle has been named as vakrokti or atiśayokti (striking expression or hyperbolic expression). Figurative speech is a kind of flowery or exaggerated expression for the sake of great effect of beauty in poetic expression. 'Beauty is first vaguely felt by the appreciative reader; then he succeeds in characterising his feeling in terms of qualities like sweetness or brilliance, after a more sustained intellectual efforts at explaining it, he will be led to the perception of vakrokti which can be analysed in terms of one figure or another'.[9] Taking his principle of beauty underlying all figures of speech, Kuntaka develops his peculiar theory of vakrokti which he considers to be the soul of poetry. We have already discussed the very standpoint of Kuntaka. But as he is a misleading literary critic to an ordinary reader, he deserves a special discussion. I hope the readers will excuse my repetition of idease; if any, in view of the peculiar concept of vakrokti taught by him. Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana have not made any attempt at a wider generalisation of guṇa, rīti, alaṁkāra, etc. Kuntaka is a gifted thinker having more powerful analytical mind. He discovers a common element which is shared by guṇas, rīti, alaṁkāra, etc. This common element is only revealed to the mystic intuition (kavipratibhā) of a poet. When this common element is expressed in language, it is called vakrokti. It is just like a mould which shapes all thinking process of a poet. To say more exactly, it is the very frame of mind of poet. All guṇas, rītis, and alaṁkāras are the invariable outcome of poet's mind. This mind knows to select words and arrange them in definite orders which we call either guṇa or rīti or alaṁkāra. Everything is done in the unconscious mind of the poet. This peculiar expression of the form of the poetic mind is called vakrokti. This vakrokti should not be confused with the figure of speech known as vakrokti of the other rhetoricians. In a nutshell, this vakrokti is the stamp with which all creations of a poet are marked. His conception of alaṁkāra is based on this theory of vakratā, and he uses the term vakrokti to comprehend in its scope the entire concept of alaṁkāra. His concept of alaṁkāra almost tallies with its definition given by Prof. Bain who defines it thus - 'A figure of speech is a deviation from the plain and ordinary mode of speaking for the sake of greater effect: it is

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an unusual form of speech'.[10] Kuntaka, however, says that it is the vaicitra or strikingness, peculiar to each composition and resting on the imaginative faculty of the poet which makes up alaṁkāra., He does not consider the figures of speech to be something outward decoration, they are the intrinsic part and parcel of poetic expression.

Much before Kuntaka, we have Ānandavardhana who visualised the concept of alaṁkāra as beautifying principle to accommodate it in his novel theory of Dhvani. He also does not consider the figures as superfluous; in a good poetry, it is an integral part of the poetic thought itself. 'Effective expression is the epiphany of the poet's feeling and it is the figurative speech'.[11] So Anandavardhana has given stress on two aspects of alaṁkāra—rasākṣiptatā and apṛthakyatnanirvartyatā. Figures of speech should suggest the feeling; it must be realised naturally and for them, the poet should not make a separate endeavour for the effective realisation of it. In a good poetry, the śabda and artha which constitute the body of poetry become the essence of alaṁkāra and help in the realisation of rasa itself. So Ānandavardhana says that alaṁkāras do not constitute the outward limb of the body which is separate from the soul.[12] According to Dr. R.C. Dwivedi, the true test of alaṁkāras is beauty only and then they become identical with dhvani itself.[13]

Some ancient writers like Viśvanātha and Mammaṭa considered the poetic figures as mere ornaments to be added or removed at will. Dhvanikāra has established beyond doubt that they are the natural expression of emotion. External view of alaṁkāra has been substituted by Dhvanikāra as an integral part. The penetrating mind of Ānandavardhana has been able to discover that some figures of speech that are noticed in a good poem, have been woven into its very structure. They can never be detached from them without marring their beauty. Alaṁkāra is the vivid image of poetry and can be felt and explained in terms of common speech. Words come to the poets with all the colours and richness as felt by the poet in experience. As Dr. P. S. Sastry puts it—'They carry with them a profound depth and intensity of feeling and thought and thus couch themselves into the forms of epithet. Every epithet in poetry is an image or a figure of itself.[14] Understood in this sense, alaṁkāras become the natural

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language of the poet with the touch of poetic genius. It is through them that a poet makes his experience intelligible.

Jagannātha's Conception of Alaṁkāra

The Alaṁkāra school headed by Bhāmaha, Rudrata etc. is the oldest of all groups of school in Sanskrit poetics. Before Jagannātha, this school was sufficiently debated and the New school headed by Anandavardhana took up seriously the case of dhvani or vyaṅjanā as the highest aesthetic principle and considered the rhetorical figures and excellences at accidental property in poetry. Standing on the theory of Dhvani of Anandavardhana, Abhinavagupta carried the principle of Dhvani and had given the supreme position to rasa as the life-principle in poetry which was grounded on psychological basis. Thus the Dhvani school not only established the principle of suggestion but also worked up and rationalised it into a synthetic and comprehensive system all accumulated idea of alaṁkāra, rīti, guṇa etc. of his predecessors.

While Jagannātha also recognised the supreme importance of rasa and dhvani and particularly of the rasa-dhvani[15], he did not minimise the general importance of alaṁkāra, or poetic figures. It is true that alaṁkāras are translated as mere figures of speech, but in reality something more essential belongs to them. It is the poetic genius which is at the root of the artful use of poetic figure and so poetic activity is a deliberate departure from the ordinary mode of expression. Viewed from this angle, alaṁkāras are not mere rhetorical categories but they contribute to the very essence of poetic beauty. Paṇḍitarāja's appraisement gives a proper status to the figures of speech in their role of supplementing the beauty in a poem. 'He believes that guṇas and alaṁkāras, particularly arthālaṁkāras, pertain to Kāvya in their own right and directly contribute to aesthetic delectation and do often reinforce the suggestive function for ennobling poetry'.[16] Thus he recognises the definite role of alaṁkāras in supplementing aesthetic enjoyment which is arrived at by suggestion. Thus, rasa, dhvani and alaṁkāra are not contradictory concepts; they are inseparably intermingled with the very notion of poetry. In aesthetic expression, figures of speech are not superfluous; they are the limbs or organic members of a unity.

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His conception of alaṁkāra is related to the very notion of poetry itself. According to him ramaṇīyatā (poetic beauty) is the test or criterion of it. Unlike the Dhvani theorists, he does not hold the view that words and their meanings should always be suppressed or subordinated to anything. Poetry is an aesthetic expression where word and meaning are like the two sides of a paper inseparable from each other. Both form and content form one unifying whole. In fact, it is the charmingness in poetry that counts ultimately. Jagannātha has denoted this feature of alaṁkāras by various terms like ramaṇīyatā, camatkāritva, hṛdytva etc. Behind the creation of alaṁkāra, it is the poetic fancy that works. Poetic inagination has a magic power which bestows upon common expression a kind of strikingness which ultimately brings aesthetic joy to the reader's mind. And it is for this noble feature that alaṁkāras are used by poets. Paṇḍitarāja has stressed upon this aspect of alaṁkāra many times, though, he cannot claim any originality for it. In the history of Sanskrit criticism, the concept of charmingness or beauty underlying all figurative modes of expression is not something new. Ruyyaka in his commentary on the Vyaktiviveka states that the charm or beauty of sound and sense is alaṁkāra.[17] Traces of the same idea can be seen in some of the rhetoricians older than Ruyyaka himself. Dr. De, in his introduction to the Vakroktijīvita has dealt elaborately how the idea of beauty in figures of speech originated by Kuntaka was developed by later writers like Ruyyaka, Appaya-Dīkṣita and Jagannātha. To avoid mere repetition, we refrain from discussing this topic further.

Presumably, Paṇḍitarāja's four-fold classification of poetry is based on the very conception of alaṁkāra itself. On the basis of the criterion applied in the case of alaṁkāra, he has classified poetry into four varieties. But the most striking feature of his conception of alaṁkāra is that he attaches a wider connotation to it and obviously goes to say that ancient rhetoricians like Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, etc., included the suggestion in paryāyokta (aparaśca sarvopi vyangyaprapanchaḥ paryāyoktakuṣkau nikṣiptaḥ, RG, pp. 554). However, this view of the ancient rhetoricians is quite contradictory to that of Anandavardhana who holds that Dhvani is a mahāviṣaya (wide principle) and it cannot be included in paryāyokti, rather it can be included in Dhvani (cf.

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paryāyoktepi yadi prādhānyena vyangyatvaṁ tadbhavatu nāma tasya dhvanavantrbhāvah/ na tu dhanestatrantarbhābaḥ/ tasya mahāviṣayatvēn ca pratipādayiṣyamānatvāt/—Dhvanyāloka, p. 118). Jagannātha's indirect support to the view of the ancient alaṁkārikas indicates the fact that he had a definite predilection for alaṁkāras. But he insisted that they must be conducive to beauty (RG, 203). In his analysis, they are not confined to individual parts of a poem but are the life principle of the poem as a whole. Dr. De remarks that Jagannātha established the theory of alaṁkāra beyond doubt which was originated and elaborated by Kuntaka and Ruyyaka[18]. In fact, Panditarāja has stressed that vicciti or beauty is the test of poetic figures and it is on the basis of poetic beauty that figures of speech are distinguished in point of their individual characteristics. Aesthetic beauty underlying all figures of speech is a form of poetic imagination itself in relation to the poetic production (cf. sa hi janyatāsaṁsargeṇa kavipratibhāviśeṣaḥ, RG, p. 632). Viewed from this point of view, the figure of speech forms the integral part of aesthetic expression and cannot be rejected as unnecessary factor in making their way into poetry. On the other hand, they are the answers to the need felt by the artist in rendering his experience intelligible.

Number of Alaṁkāras

The number of alaṁkāras treated by different rhetoricians has never been a fixed one. It is increasing in course of time. Generally, there is a steady growth of their number together with their subdivisions in the hands of successive writers on poetics. While Bharata who treats them merely as a formal part of the poetic representation mentions only four alaṁkāras, the number grows enormously and in Appayadīkaṣita's Kuvalayānanda, we get 115 alaṁkāras. This is quite natural, because poets in different times have created various new alaṁkāras by virtue of their creative imagination. Daṇḍin[19] has rightly remarked that even to-day they are being speculated upon and so nobody can enumerate them in their entirety. Ruyyaka also stresses the same point when he declares that beauty is alaṁkāra and it is not possible to define beauty, as it is of infinite variety arising out of the boundlessness of poetic imagination.[20] The philosophy and grammar schools have their

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influence in the formation of many alaṁkāras. Thus, the alaṁkārikas display their skill in finding out new type of charmingness in the existing common term of expression and consequently their number increases in the hand of successive writers. Shri Madhusudana Sastri has tried to give exact number of poetic figures treated by different writers in his introduction to his Rasagangādhara (pp.69-75). Ruyyaka has given a systematic classification of figures of speech and has treated them lucidly. Our Paṇḍitarāja follows the list of Ruyyaka in the serial arrangement of the poetic figures; but suddenly in the middle of the discussion on uttarālaṁkāra , he breaks away. However, Jagannātha's treatment of alaṁkāras is a crowning success of his glory as an aesthetician. MM. Giridhara Sharma Chaturvedi[21] rightly says that without studying the Rasagangādhara, nobody can have a clear grasp of what is alaṁkāra.

Poetic Figures of Jagannātha

Jagannātha has dwelt with a large number of poetic figures in his Rasagangādhara. His treatment is very vast and it is impossible to discuss them him a chapter, because the scope of the subject demands a separate volume on it. Here we shall only try to give a rough idea of Jagannātha's conception of alaṁkāras thereby making an assessment of his contribution to this most important topic of Sanskrit poetics. Avoiding the minute details of each and every alaṁkāra we shall confine ourselves to a few only, to illustrate the broad principles of his technique. In his discussions of some alaṁkāras, Paṇḍitarāja has shown his constructive faculty and in some others, he has shown his critical and sometimes iconoclastic acumen. We shall discuss here two or three examples of each of these and conclude the chapter.

Upamā: Jagannātha first discusses this alaṁkāra. This alaṁkāra is very old and represents the oldest phase of growth of them in Sanskrit poetics. It is the basis of most of the alaṁkāras and so Rājaśekhara calls it as crestjewel and the essence of poetry. Appaya Dīksita says just at the beginning of his treatment of Upamā-

upamaikā śailūṣī samprāptā citrabhūmikāṁ/
ranjayanti kāvyarange nṛtyanti tadvidāṁ cetaḥ//

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Kumari S.S. Janaki[22] has shown that he had borrowed this idea from Vidyācakravartin, the great commentator of Alaṁkāra Sarvasva. Jagannātha also accepts this figure as the basis of huge number of poetic figures and defines it thus-

'sādṛśyaaṁ sundaraṁ vākyārthopaskārakamupamālaṁkṛitiḥ'.

'The beautiful resemblance which renders the sense of a sentence charming is upamā'. Paṇḍitarāja explains the definition by stating that the word 'saundarya' means camatkāra (charmingness) which is, again, a kind of aesthetic joy experienced by the connossieurs. The most important element in upamā is sādṛśya which is charming. Thus, sādṛśya which excites aesthetic joy and makes the sense of a sentence beautiful is called upamā. This characteristic of upamā precludes it from ananvaya where resemblance or sādṛśya has its necessity only to show that the object compared has no other standard of comparison but itself and as such it is not a charming one. In Vyatireka, beauty lies in negation and though resemblence is shown with an object which is negation and though resemblance is shown with an object which is negated, it is secondary and is not charming at all. In abhedapradhāna alaṁkāras like rūpaka, apahnuti, pariṇāma, bhrāntimān and in bhedapradhāna alaṁkāras like dṛṣṭānta, prativastūpamā, dīpaka etc. there is resemblance at their root. But they do not possess any charmingness, so they cannot be equated with upamā. In pratīpa and upameyopamā, there is resemblance and it is charming also. But they are not fundamentally different from upamā. Their origin lies in upamā itself.

Upamālaṁkāra is illustrated by the verse-

gurujanabhaya-madvilokanāntaḥsamudāyadākulabhāvaṁ
āvahantyāḥ/
daradaladaravindasundaraṁ hā hariṇādṛśo nayanaṁ na
vismarāmi//

Here the word 'lotus' with petals open is the standard of comparison and the word sundara signifying beauty is the common attribute. These two words have entered into a compound. Here love in separation is the main import of the sentence and reminiscence is a part of it. The beautiful resemblance of the eye to a lotus has rendered the sense of the sentence charming and so, it is an illustration of upamā. Criticizing the

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stand that smṛti is the main suggested sense, Paṇḍitarāja says that it has been explicitly stated that here is absence of smṛti and this has been expressed by 'na vismarāmi.' Nor can it be said that the sense of union of 'fear' and 'anxiousness' is mainly suggested here. It is a qualifying adjunct of the heroine and also is a part of remembrance, and so bhāvasandhi cannot be the main import of the sentence. Thus both bhāvasandhi and upamālaṁkāra have helped the vipralambhaśṛṇgāra and this is the main sense of the sentence.

Thus, establishing the faultlessness of his definition, Paṇḍitarāja criticises the definition of his predecessors. Though his main target of attack is Appayadīkṣita, he also criticises the definitions of Vidyānātha, Mammaṭa and others. Appaya gives two definitions of upamā in his Citramīmāmsā-

(1) Upamā is the description of similarity which culminates in comparison, and the description must be both free from any defect and different from any suggestion.

(2) Upamā consists in the description of a similarity not resulting in its own negation.

Criticising both the definitions, Paṇḍitarāja maintains that the description may be expressed through some particular words or it may be a kind of cognition. It cannot be expressed by words and so it cannot be an arthālaṁkāra. Again, Paṇḍitarāja points out, description cannot be a suggested one and as such, the adjunct 'avyangyaṁ' in the definition becomes meaningless. If the definition is modified to mean that similarity which becomes the object of description, then the sentence like 'yathā gaustathā gavayaḥ' will have to be accepted as the instance of upamālaṁkāra. Again it may be asserted that description means only those poetical descriptions which are charming and in the instance cited above though there is comparison, it is not charming and as such it does not come under the category of upamā. Jagannātha accepts this argument but raising his objection, he states that the adjunct in the definition namely 'upamitikriyāniṣpattimat' becomes superfluous, since camatkārakāritva is to be inserted in the definition. To be the source of camatkṛti, a similarity must be well-founded; a superficial similarity cannot arouse any camatkṛti in the mind of the hearer.

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Criticising the second definition of Appaya, Paṇḍitarāja states the epithet 'niṣedhaparyavasāyi' in the definition is superfluous. This is, however, used to distinguish upamā from vyatireka and ananvaya. In vyatireka the description of similarity has its utility in the negation of some objects like lotus etc., and in ananvaya, it serves the purpose of negation of any similar objects. While similarity is the main source of charmingness in upamālaṁkāra, the element of negation is considered as that in these two figures of speech. Again, Jagannātha points out that these two definitions are defective so as to cover the instance like -

stanābhoge patanbhāti kapolātkuṭilo'lakaḥ/
śaśāṅkabimbato merau lambamāna evoragaḥ//

where upamā is the chief concept (mukhya vākyārtha), but not an alaṁkāra. According to Jagannātha, an alaṁkāra always enhances the beauty of the chief concept. So this definition of Appaya is defective since it includes within its scope, those instances which are not actually alaṁkāras. Further, Paṇḍitarāja maintains that the use of the word sādṛśya in the definition is meaningless, since 'upamitikriyāniṣpattimadvarṇanamupamā' itself will serve the purpose.

Another noteworthy feature of Jagannātha's treatment of alaṁkāra is his discussion on verbal cognition in the alaṁkāra section of his Rasagangādhara. While dealing with this aspect of alaṁkāra, Paṇḍitarāja has shown his mastery over the method of discrimination and critical judgment, which has its origin to his new mode of dialectical approach. Let us examine the process of verbal cognition of upamā —

A sentence containing such particles like 'iva' etc. denotative of resemblance or similar other relation has a special import. The import of the sentence has been expressed in the technical language of the modern Indian Logic. The import of the sentence has become very accurate but too difficult for the general readers. In other words, to present the niceties of such import before the general readers we shall try to express at a certain length the meanings of the words — their syntactical relation and relational structure of the meanings of the other words contained in a sentence along with the meaning of the particular word. In this context we must point out that grammarians differ from the logicians with regard to the import of a sentence. The rhetoricians

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generally are subscribers to the views of the grammarians. So the standpoint of the grammarians will be our first concern. Now let us take an example — 'A face is beautiful like a lotus'. The corresponding Sanskrit sentence is 'aravindamiva sundaraṁ mukhaṁ'. The particle 'iva' corresponding to English preposition 'like' denotes resemblance (sādṛśya). Resemblance is a relative term. It is like the relation of resemblance holding between two terms mentioned in the modern Western Mathematical Logic. In Indian logic resemblance behaves like relation though it has not been included in the class of relations. It proceeds from an object and moves towards another object in order to reside there,. Here in the example mentioned above the resemblance proceeds from the lotus and moves towards the face in order to reside there. Now, why does this resemblance come into being in the world of facts? Beauty is the determinant of this resemblance. Thus the relation of the determinant and the determined holds good between beauty and resemblance. Thus the import of this sentence is this — the resemblance which proceeds from a lotus is caused (determined) by the beauty which finds its lotus in the face. In other words, the possessor of such beauty is identical with the face. The meaning of the particle 'iva' is resemblance. This meaning does never reconnect itself with the meaning of the case-ending. This meaning is connected with the meaning of a word directly by such relation which conveys difference of resemblance from the meaning of the word. Moreover, it should also be noted here that the meaning of 'iva' viz., resemblance may be related to the meaning of a word as a qualifying adjective or as a substantive. A parallel case may be cited in this connection admitted in Sanskrit Literature and grammar. The meaning of a nagative particle 'na' is not directly related to the meaning of a case-ending but it is related to the meaning of a word directly both as an qualifying adjective and substantive. Let us give an example - 'ghaṭah paṭo na' a jar is possessor of such a difference which proceeds from a piece of cloth. Now in Sanskrit language, it is put like this - 'patapratiyogikabhedavān ghaṭah', bheda stands for difference. It is both a noun (substantive) and adjective. Paṭa qualifies 'bheda' by such a relation as holds between a negative fact and term negated. This

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difference (bheda) rests upon 'ghaṭa', therefore, qualifies it. So it is an adjective in relation to a jar but a substantive with regard to 'ghaṭa'. Similarly resemblance is adjective-cum-substantive. This double aspect of resemblance has been expressed in the import of a sentence 'aravindamiva sundaraṁ'.

Now let us take another sentence - 'aravindamiva vibhāti' - it shines like a lotus. In this resemblance which proceeds from a lotus qualifies the meaning of the verb. Here the meaning of the verb plays an important role in the philosophy of the grammarians. The meaning of the verb is conveyed as a substantive and then resemblance qualifies such a substantive. Let us clearly state the position of the grammarians. When we grasp the import of the sentence 'aravindamiva bhāti', shining draws our first attention and flashes before our mind as the substantive element; that is the most important factor of the sentence. The other terms hinge upon it as subordinate factors. This shining which draws our first attention is the centre of our knowledge. They mean to say that the sentence is intended to convey shining as the most important thing. Now we are to find out how this shining has been so prominent. So in order to explain its prominence, 'resemblance' qualifies it and this resemblance is not an ordinary resemblance as it proceeds from a lotus. Now if another word 'by beauty' (saundaryeṇa) is added to the sentence then the meaning of the third case ending implies each determining character of the meaning of the word to which it is attached. Determination, which is meant by the third case-ending is syntactically related either to the shining or to resemblance. Let us give the full import of the complete sentence — 'It shines like a lotus by virtue of its beauty'. The meaning of the phrase 'by virtue of' is equivalent to that of the 3rd-case ending. Beauty determines either shining or resemblance. 'It shines like a lotus because of its beauty or it is looking like a lotus because its beauty shines'. Any of these two imports have been suggested by Jagannātha. 'He goes like an elephant; 'the bird sings like a cuckoo' - such sentences communicate their import better if the standpoint of the logician is adopted. Here the resemblance denoted by the term 'iva' is not related to the meaning of the verb 'gaṁ' or 'ru'(rauti), but it is

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related to the agent of the root 'gaṁ' or 'ru' (sing). The import of the sentence is this - He possesses such inner activity which leads to his external motion which resembles the slow and majestic gait of an elephant.

Rūpaka — The object compared if qualified only by its characteristic features and is identical with the standard of comparison and if this identification is well-determined by verbal expression, it is a case of metaphor (rūpaka). The epithet 'upameyatāvacchedakapuraskāreṇa' is very significant; on the strength of it, the figures of speech, such as apahnuti and nidarśanā are excluded from the field of metaphor. In case of apahnuti, the identity is denied by the very will of the speaker. In case of bhrāntiman, identity is contradicted by the basic condition of illusion. In case of atiśayokti and nidarśanā, the object compared is swallowed up by the standard of comparison. Moreover, the characteristic feature is not taken into consideration at all. The exact verbal expression is also a condition of the figure of speech rūpaka, since it excludes the perceptual judgement, 'this face is moon'. Here the identification owes its origin to perception and deliberate illusion. That it is well-determined by the verbal expression is also significant. Another condition of rūpaka, namely, well-determined by verbal expression is also significant, since it excludes utprekṣā which is based on probability.

Now let us clarify the definition of Rūpaka.

The identity of the object compared with the standard of comparison is rūpaka. The subject of comparison and the object of comparison are adjectives to the identity of the two. The object compared and the standard of comparison are invariably connected with resemblance. No term is called the standard of comparison or the object of comparison unless they bear resemblance. Thus these two adjectives of tādātmya convey that the identity of the standard of comparison with the object compared based on resemblance is determined by the exact verbal expression and then it is called the figure of rūpaka. Thus 'a beautiful lady is happiness' does not come under the purview of rūpaka. The attribution of identity is not based upon resemblance but upon casual relation. So the figure of speech 'rūpaka' takes into consideration

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only such cases of identity of upamāna and upameya which are based upon resemblance.

Ratnākara holds the view that all sorts of identification of two objects, whether they are based on similarity or on any relation, are rūpaka. He also maintains that the basis of all identification is sāropālakṣaṇā and this can be seen in all cases of identification and, as such the contention of the ancients that the identification of upamāna and the upameya is the case of rūpaka and not that of cause and effect is not just.

Criticising this stand of Ratnākara, Jagannātha states that his view is not tenable. In apahnuti also, there is identification of two objects and so his definition will include apahnuti within its scope. Pointing out his definition of smaraṇa where he asserts that smaraṇa based on similarity is smaraṇālaṁkāra and not that based on 'cinta'. Jagannātha further adds that if a rūpaka based on cause and effect is also accepted, then a smaraṇālaṁkāra having its basis on 'cintā' should have been accepted. It cannot be held that a smaraṇa based on thought is a bhāva only. According to Paṇḍitarāja, vācya smaraṇa (reminiscence) whether arising from the comprehension of similarity or caused due to cintā (thought) are the instances of alaṁkāras; if it is suggested, it is a bāva only.

Rejecting the definition of Appayadikṣīta, Paṇḍitarāja says that there is bimbapratibimbabhāva even in rūpaka and so the epithet bimbaviśiṣṭe in the definition to differentiate it from nidarśanā is not proper. Again, if the word nirdiṣṭe is taken in the sense of being expressed by any word with the determinant of upameyatā, then, this part will distinguish rūpaka from atiśayokti and apahnuti, since in the first, the object of comparison is suppressed and in the second, it is negated and is not expressed by any word with the determinant of the upameyatā being kept in view. So the word 'nihnute' in the definition is superfluous.

Further, Jagannātha, takes up the definition of Mammaṭa[24] and examines it. According to him, Mammaṭa's definition is untenable on the ground that in apahnuti, there is identification of the upamāna with the upameya and so Mammaṭa's definition embraces apahnuti too.

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Again, somebody may say that there is no clear comprehension of the attribute of the object of comparison; rather there is clear denial and so Mammaṭa's definition will not embrace apahnuti within its fold. But Jagannātha maintains that even then, the definition will not be free from defect; it will include the instance of utprekṣā like 'nūnaṁ mukhaṁ chandraḥ'.

Citing Mammaṭa's definitions of apahnuti and rūpaka, Jagannātha further adds that these two definitions are defective because they may include other instances which actually do not come under their purview. Pointing to the definitions of rūpaka and utprekṣā, Paṇḍitarāja maintains that according to Mammaṭa, rūpaka consists in identification and utprekṣā occurs when an object is imagined under the character of another. But in definition of rūpaka, no specific mention is made about the special characteristic of identification, and so even a possible identification may be a source of rūpaka and then the definition of utprekṣā will cover rūpaka too. Thus, Jagannātha asserts, there will be two alaṁkāras in a single one. If, however, abheda is said to be qualified by certainty, no scope will be left for criticism.

Pariṇāma - When the viṣayin (upamāna) serves the purpose in hand as being identified with the subject of superimposition but not on its own count, then the alaṁkāra is pariṇāma.

After defining pariṇāma, Jagannātha distinguishes it from rūpaka. In pariṇāma, the vācyārtha does not fit in the context, if the upamāna is not completely identified with the upameya. But in rūpaka, it is not so; there is only the super-imposition of the upamāna upon the upameya. MM. P.V. Kane clearly brings out this distinction in the following sentences —'In Rūpaka, upamāna tinges or colours the upameya simply, but the upamāna is not necessarily of any use for the matter in hand as in 'mukhachandraṁ paśyāmi' where the moon subserves no purpose in the act of seeing. In Pariṇāma, on the other hand, the upamāna is completely identified with the upameya and subserves the purpose in hand by being so identified. . . . In Rūpaka, the upmāna is superimposed upon the upameya, which is the subject of discussion; while in Pariṇāma the upamāna passes over entirely into the nature of the upameya and subserves the purpose in hand. So it is

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prakṛtopoyogitva that distinguishes this figure from Rūpaka.[25] Appaya Dīkṣīta[26] also holds the same view when he says in his Citramīmāmsā that in rūpaka, the prakṛta (the object described) assumes the form of the aprakṛta (i.e., upameya); but in pariṇāma, aprakṛta assumes the form of the prakṛta. This figure is illustrated by the following verse:

apāre saṁsāre viṣamaviṣayāraṇyasaraṇau
mama bhrāmaṁ bhrāmaṁ vigalitavirāmaṁ jaḍamatēḥ/
pariśrāntasyāyaṁ taraṇitanayātīranilayaḥ
samantātsantāpaṁ harinavatamālastirayatu//

Here Paṇḍitarāja remarks that the tree 'tamāla' on its own account cannot be said to remove the worry of this life; it has been stated here as being capable of being so, as it has been identified with the Deity (Hari). The Tamāla tree is the viṣayin here on account of its capacity to remove the fatigue of people and for its being possessed of beauty. This is an illustration of appositional pariṇāma (samānādhikaraṇa pariṇāma).

Vyādhikaraṇa (non-appositional) Pariṇāma is illustrated by Jagannātha by the verse -

ahīnacandrā lasatānanena jyotsnāvatī cāpi śucismitena/
eṣā hi yoṣā sitapakṣadoṣā toṣāya kesām na mahītale syāt//

where Paṇḍitarāja remarks that a lady like a night with clear moon light pleases all and so she can please her lover as well. A night with clear moon light which is superimposed upon a lady is obstructed in its form, that is, it cannot satisfy all. But when it is considered as a lady, then the relation becomes clear. So this is an instance of Pariṇāma.

Criticising the verse 'tārānāyakasekharāya etc.' cited by Appaya Dīkṣita as an example of non-appositional pariṇāma, Jagannātha says that in this verse, the poet salutes Lord Śiva who is accustomed to dally with Pārvāti. Śiva's dalliance is related to His ornaments like mark of tilaka on the forehead. The upameyas like river, eye have their utility in the form of their upamāna, not on their own account. So, according to Paṇḍitarāja, it is an illustration of rūpaka and not of pariṇāma. It may be objected that in pariṇāma, the viṣaya (upameya) is thoroughly identified with the viṣayin (upamāna) and in the above example also, the words rivers and others are connected with 'śekharine' etc. through

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third case-ending and so they are thoroughly identified with upamānas like śekhara etc., so these are the instances of pariṇāma. But Paṇḍitarāja asserts that, though upamāna is identified with the upameya, it does not subserve the purpose in hand in that very form, and as such, this is an illustration of rūpaka and not of pariṇāma.

While rejecting Ruyyaka's definition of pariṇāma, Paṇḍitarāja discusses the meaning of prakṛtopayogitva. He first finds out two alternative meanings — whether the object superimposed serves the purpose in hand or it gains utility by identifying itself with the object described. The first alternative is not tenable on the ground that in that case the verse 'dāse kṛtāgaśi' etc., cited by Ruyyaka as an illustration of rūpaka will be an instance of pariṇāma. 'Here the prakṛta (pulakāṅkura) is identified with the aprakṛta (kantaka) so that it can be connected with the sense of padakhedana, pricking the delicate foot of the heroine. Here we have the utility of the object superimposed for a contextual purpose'.[27] The second alternative also is untenable, for, then the verse 'atha pavitrameti' etc. cited by Ruyyaka as illustrating of Vyādhikaraṇa pariṇāma cannot be supported as such. While approaching a king, the gift (upāyana) which is superimposed in this concept, has its utility for the contextual prupose, but not in the form of word which is the upāmeya here. If no the other hand, the words which are viṣaya here, are supposed to serve the contextual purpose in the form of gift then Ruyyaka's example becomes quite contradictory. Kumari S.S. Janaki defends Ruyyaka against the criticism of Paṇḍitar- ,a)ja. But she herself has remarked that Ruyyaka is not very clear about this figure and his definition can be interpreted in various ways.[28]

Udāharaṇa - Jagannātha accepted a kind of strikingness or beauty in the twist or turn of expression as the criterion of a poetic figure and thus accorded recognition to some figures of speech which were either rejected or were included in some other traditional figures by his predecessors. Among them, udāharaṇa is one and Paṇḍitarāja has established it as a separate one on the basis of its peculiar charm by his cogent and constructive arguments.

He defines Udāharaṇa thus — 'When for the easy understanding of a general proposition laid down, a particular case of that proposition is

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mentioned and the relation of the two as particular and general is expressedly stated , it is udāharaṇa'. The word 'expressedly stated' in the sūtra distinguishes udāharaṇa from arthāntaranyāsa. Again in udāharana some words such as 'iva', 'yathā' , 'nidarśanā' which convey relation of 'avayava' and 'avayavin' are present and in arthāntaranyāsa, they are not present. They convey the sense of avayava and avayavin by lakṣaṇā.

Jagannātha illustrates this figure by the verse:

amitaguṇo'pi padārtho doṣoṇaikena nindito bhavati/
nikhilarasāyanorājo gandhenogreṇa laśuna iva//

which means that though an object possess many good qualities, it becomes neglected for a single defect like laśuna, the best of elixirs, for its excessive smell. Here in this verse, the word 'iva' does not convey the idea of similarity between the padārtha (object) and laśuna. It brings the sense of general and particularsimilarly the word sādṛśa and others are also found in the figure udāharaṇa.

Ancient rhetoricians do not accept udāharaṇa as a separate figure. They include it under upamā since the words like 'iva' etc. express similarity between two objects, though the relation of particular and general is understood in the beginning. Rejecting this view, Jagannātha maintains that in udāharaṇa the words like 'iva' and others do not signify similarity; they express the sense of general and particular unlike in the examples of upamā. So udāharaṇa should be recognised as a separate alaṁkāra.

Dīpaka - When a thing which is the subject in hand (prakṛta) and another which is not the subject in hand (aprakṛta) are connected with a common property, there is dīpaka.

In this figure resemblance is understood (gamya). The reason why this figure is called dīpaka is that the property which is applicable to the prakṛta, serves the purpose of lending beauty to another which is aprakṛta. Explaining the significance of the name of the figure, Jagannātha says that, like a lamp which, when employed for illuminating one object, also illumines another, this figure also illumines both the prakṛta and aprakṛta.

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This figure is distinguished from tulyoyogitā by the fact that in a dīpaka, one object must be prakṛta and others are aprakṛta. If all the objects are either prakṛta or aprakṛta, this may be the case of a tulyayogitā. So our author remarks that when there are many kartākārakas or karmakārakas and they are connected with a verb which becomes the common property, they will be tulyayogitā or dīpaka as the case may be. Thus in the verse -

sujanāḥ paropakāraṁ śūrāḥ śāstram dhanaṁ kṛpaṇāḥ/
kulavatyo mandākṣam prāṇātyayā eva muncanti//

where good persons, heroes etc. are connected with the action of laying down their lives. If all the kartṛkārakas are either prakṛta or aprakṛta, this will be a tulyayogitā, if, one of them is prakṛta and others are aprakṛta, it becomes a dīpaka. Thus, when many verbs are connected with a substantive, it is called kāraka dīpaka. Jagannātha does not recognise kāraka dīpaka as a separate variety. Criticising Mammaṭa's definition[29] of kāraka dīpaka, our author says that the first part of the definition covers the kāraka dīpaka also and so the second part of the definition is unnecessary. In case of a guṇa or a kāraka, a mere mention of a common property in the form of guṇa or action results in dīpaka. Similarly, when there are many verbs and they are connected with a substantive (kartṛkāraka), there will be a dīpaka. Rejecting Mammaṭa's illustration of kāraka dīpaka, Paṇḍitarāja, states that in the example, all the verbs are prakṛta. Moreover, all rhetoricians hold the view that the resemblance is the essence of dīpaka. But in the above example, there is no resemblance and so this is an example of samūccaya alaṁkāra.

Jagannātha does not regard dīpaka and tulyayogitā as two separate alaṁkāras. He holds that what constitutes the strikingness of both the alaṁkaras, is the possession of a common property by all prakṛtas and aprakṛtas. The possession of this common property only by prakṛta or aprakṛta cannot constitute the basis of another variety of alaṁkāra. There is no universal rule that the prakṛta should be upameya and the aprakṛta should be upamāna. The exception to this rule is illustated by upameyopamā and pratīpa. In the first case, once the prakṛta is upameya but in the other part the aprkṛta is the upameya. In the second

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case too, aprakṛta is upameya and prakṛta is upamāna. Therefore, the ground for distinction between tulyayogitā and dīpaka is very insecure. So this distinction topples down.

Aprastutaprasaṁsā - When the description of a non-contextual object leads to the idea of the contextual object through similarity and others, the figure would be aprastutaprasaṁsā. This has five varieties - (1) that the description of the non-contextual leads to the knowledge of the contextual through similarity; (2) that the description of the effect leads to the idea of the cause; (3) the opposite of the second variety; (4) that the description of the general aspect in an object leads to the knowledge of its particular aspect; (5) the opposite of the fourth.

Jagannātha illustrates all these varieties of aprastutaprasaṁsā with suitable illustrations. He remarks in this connection that the first variety of aprastutaprasaṁsā again can be subdivided into various types. Thus, in some instances, both the descriptions may be contextual and the conception of one leads to that of another. As an instance, he cites the following verse:

malinèpi rāgapurṇāṁ vikasitavadanāmanalpajalpèpi/
tvayi capalèpi ca sarasāṁ bhramara kathaṁ vā sarojiṁiṁ
tyajasi//

Here the nāyaka who is devoted to his wife is the main object of description and the bee is the aprastuta. The description of this non-contextual bee leads to the idea of the nāyaka. Again, the bee is the contextual object, since it is there when such an address has been made by the friend of the nāyikā. Thus it is seen that both the descriptions are prastuta or contextual and the description of one leads to the knowledge of the other.

Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha criticises Appaya Dīkṣita for extending recognition to a new figure named prastutāṇkura. Thus according to Appaya, when the description of the contextual leads to the idea of the contextual itself, the figure is called prastutānkura. Jagannātha does not regard it as a separate variety and includes it in aprastutaprasaṁsā. He remarks that there are different terms of expression and if these are

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regarded as separate alaṁkāras, one will have to recognise endless number of alaṁkāras since there are endless modes of expression.

Jagannātha, thus makes a deviation from the tradition in evolving a new principle underlying all poetic figures and accordingly he examines the definition of various figures given by ancient rhetoricians which are difficult to controvert. He rejects many alaṁkāras recognised by Appaya and others as mere turns of expression evolved from the existing poetic figures. But the success of Paṇḍitarāja as a critic lies in his method of discrimination applied in his treatment of alaṁkāras, which brings out the constructive faculty of his searching intellect in devising new alaṁkāras as well as the critical and iconoclastic acumen in the rejecting some of the alaṁkāras accepted by his predecessors.

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    saiva kriyāsu sahbīsu kārakasyeti dīpakaṁ//

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SEVEN

JAGANNATHA AS A POET

Characteristics and Achievements in Sanskrit Poetry of the Age

The development of Sanskrit poetry may be traced to the tremendous influence of the two great Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The Purāna literature and the Buddhacharita of Aśvaghoṣa have also exercised considerable influence upon its growth. The generally accepted hypothesis that the court-poets are the pioneers of Sanskrit poetry and its development should be re-examined closely. It is an undeniable fact that Vālmīki and Vedavyāsa were not court poets. Kalidasa was a court-poet no doubt, but his Raghuvaṁśa and Kumārasambhava were not composed to eulogise his patron king. Kālidāsa did not select the lunar dynasty for the theme of his epic. Similarly Kumarasambhava might be considered to celebrate the greatness of Śiva-cult, the favourite cult of the Gupta kings. But it should be remembered also, in this connection that the Gupta kings performed Aśvamedha sacrifice having Viṣṇu as the main diety. Therefore, a categorical statement that the royal patronage of the court-poets is responsible for the decline of Sanskrit poetry is doubtful. History also tells that the authors of the great epics Kiratarjunīyam

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and Śishupālavadham were deprived of the royal patronage. Considering many other things, namely, the political conditions of India, foreign invasion, etc., we are led to believe that with the decline of universal Sanskrit learning, the task of composing Sanskrit poetry circumstantially became entrusted with the learned scholars who were more or less confined to the old literature and tradition and negligent of the changes outside. These authors were slaves to the disciplines of grammar, rhetoric, traditional lore and other conventions prevalent in their time. They lost their independence of judgment and spirit of revolt against tradition and convention. Such a condition is mainly responsible for the degeneration of Sanskrit poetry, though in this desert of metrical composition fettered by rules of grammar, prosody, rhetoric and other such manuals of traditional nature, we find an Oasis of genuine poetry here and there occasionally. The main reason of degeneration was due to the political reasons which prevailed in the Hindu society. The stalwarts of this society were great Sanskrit scholars. They shut out all outside influence which dominated the Aryan society surrounding it.The best weapon of Sanskrit scholars was prohibition of entrance of new thoughts and ideas into their own society and this tendency also exercised tremendous influence upon the ray of imagination. This is the main reason for the artificiality of Sanskrit poetry. Those who broke away from this society have been able to compose new poetry. Paṇḍitarāja Jagannatha was also one among them. And this is the only reason why this author has been able to compose in a new vein. He was a court-poet of Moghul emperor Shahjahan. He was familiar with the traditional views and other free thinkers and court-poets who had little knowledge of Sanskrit tradition. His mental atmosphere became broader and broader by his close contact with orthodox and hetarodox scholars and poets. The prevailing Sufi culture and other such various cultures also helped him to develop his outlook of life and its goal.

Literary woks of Jagannatha

Paṇḍitaraja Jagannatha is the last literary giant in the history of Sanskrit poetry. He belonged to an age when Sanskrit language and literature lost the prestige position in the royal court of India. He is

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naturally the last savant of Sanskrit poetry and criticism. Though a product of the artificial age, he is undoubtedly one of the gifted poets of India. The bulk of his poetry is devotional in character, which he calls 'laharīs'. His secular poetry includes the didactic poems and erotic verses of his Bhaminīvilāsa together with panegyerics in praise of his patron kings.

We shall try here to assess Jagannātha as a poet together with general idea about his poetical works.

1. Gangālaharī

It is a collection of exquisite devotional stanzas wherein mother goddess Ganges is prayed and praised. It is not a descriptive poem but a passionate eulogy of the river which is looked upon by the Hindus as a deity. The poem consists of 53 verses of which last one describes the phalaśruti. The poet here fervently prays to her to remove his internal agony as well as his sin. With child-like symplicity, the poet submits to the goddess that he had neglected all other gods in preference to her; if she becomes indifferent to him, he becomes supportless and there will be none to console him. Those kings who relinquish their kingdoms but take shelter on her bank, can neglect salvation which is the summum bonum of life. The joy that one derives by drinking the nectar-like water of the river can surpass emancipation. The river goddess is so sacred that the deer whose kasturi gets mixed with the holy water of the Ganges from the breasts of queens taking bath in the river early in the morning enter into the Nandana forest in celestial ears. The eyes of the people who have not seen the beautiful body of the goddess and the ears not having heard the sweet sound of the sportive waves are simply futile.

The poem at once brings to our mind the two other stavas on the river — Gangāstavas of Vālmīki and of Śankarāchārya, the great Advaita philosopher. These two stavas also are laden with passionate yearning for the compassion of the holy river. But the difference lies in the poetic imagination. Jagannatha's fervent intoxication goes high and he considers her favour to be valuable in consideration with that of other gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Although made up of detached stanzas, the poem is a sincere outburst of emotions and possesses all the distinctive quality of a deliberate work of art. The

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sheer beauty and music of words with a deep sincere and ecstatic passion, makes it a finished product of lyrical imagination. To a layman who has no sanctitive image of the river goddess, the poem may appear to be an excess of religious sentiments. And the uninterested critic can reject it as a mere verbal jugglery, but to appreciate it one must realise the entire mentality of the poet devotee. The poem is an outburst of his devout heart and not a laboured repetition of sounds. In a god-intoxicated mood, the poet has visioned the river as the source of tranquility. His poetical ideas and devotional personality have merged into one. The poem is therefore not only a document of religious sentimentality but also a noteworthy poetical production of unblemished charm and deservedly holds a high position in Stotra literature of India.

2. Amṛtalaharī

It is a short charming devotional poem. It is addressed to the river Yamunā. It consists of eleven verses only, the ten verses being written Śārdulavikrīḍita metre. The last verse gives the poet's colophon. The poet exalts the sacred river in which a holy dip brings highest bliss. The poet earnestly desires to pass his days on the bank of the river Yamunā as a mendicant and prays to Kṛṣṇa for salvation. A man can remain a sinner or he may pass his days in constant fear from the god of death or he can derive pleasure from this illusory world until and unless he sees the streams of Yamunā. The stotra is not very interesting for its varied devotional fancy but it is charming for its beautiful metrical harmony.

3. Karunālahari

This devotional lyric of Jagannātha is a remarkable contribution to the stotra literature of India. It is a refined passionate prayer to Lord Viṣṇu and comes from the poet's sincere devotion. The poem consists of fifty five verses. The first twelve verses are written in Vaṁśastha metre and the rest in Viyoginī metre. The verses are surcharged with the poet's feeling of pathos and surrender at the mercy of Lord Viṣṇu. The first verse depicts the utter helplessness of the poet in this world. He

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sees no remedy for his deliverance and so he surrenders himself to the mercy of Lord Visnu -

viśīdata nātha viṣāṇalopame visādabhūmau bhavasāgare bibho/
pāpam pratikāramapasyatādhunā mayātmā bhavate niveditaḥ//

The poet breaks in a cry of regret that he has been disgusted with utter ignorance encircling his life; he is waiting, therefore, for the day when the Lord will repel the gloom-like ignorance by the rising of the sun-like eye. He has been disgusted with material gain; he does not hanker after knowledge. He pines for sympathy and grace of Lord Viṣṇu. He confesses that he has not done any good work in life and now he surrenders himself at the mercy of the God. His pathetic appeal for Viṣṇu's mercy is very touching. He says with child-like simplicity — 'A baby falling into a well is protected even by a traveller. O Lord, why should I not be saved from falling into this great ocean of the world?' This tone of complaint from the mouth of the poet shows his great devotion to the god for his grace. With its sincerity and simplicity the poem touches the heart of the readers.

4. Laksmīlaharī

This is another lyric poem of our poet. It is a hymn addressed to the goddess Lakshmī. It consists of forty one verses written in Śikhariṇī metre. The poet requests the goddess to protect him through her grace by which a king can lead his life in full luxury and enjoyment. If the sympathetic eyes of the goddess fall on somebody, he will have all means of enjoyment by his side. The poem is instinct with true poetic imagination and fervour of utterance which hold the reader spell bound. Though it is a prayer, the religious temperament is saturated with sensuous sentimentality. But with the rapturous exultation, however, there runs an undercurrent of the poet's appeal to remove his sin. The verse 25 gives a picture of the goddess Laksmī whose beauty is beyond description. Yet strangely enough, she holds a lotus which, according to our poet is superfluous. It is, however, from the lotus that the poetic figure upamā originated. The last two verses

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depict Jagannātha's utter surrender to the goddess to console him. He dedicates this humble poem to the goddess to be heard by her.

5. Sudhālaharī

This is one of the finest lyrical poems in Sanskrit literature. It is instinct with true poetic vision and fervour of utterance. It delights the reader for its sincerity, spontaneity and intense poetic passion. It is indeed a nature lyric on the sun like Mayura's Sūryāṣṭaka. The poem is filled with emotion and the picture of the sun is caught for ever in imperishable language. It is a prayer in verse yet it is also a genuine poem, because in it the poet's intense congnition of an abiding reality of respledence finds an artistic expression. The poet gives a vivid description of the sun with all the warmth and richness of the morning sun in the opening verse.

ullāsaḥ phullapankeruhapaṭalapatanmattapuṣpamdhayānāṁ
nistāraḥ śokadāvānalavikalahṛdāṁ kokasīmantininām/
utpātstamasānamupahatamahasāṁ cakṣusāṁ pakṣapātaḥ
samghātaḥ kṓpidhāmnamayamudayagiriprāntataḥ prādurāsīt//

'At the very sudden rise of the extra-ordinary collection of the luminous rays in the rising hill, there is hope for the enjoyment of sweet honey in the blooming lotuses; there is a happy termination of the separation of the female koka birds from their beloved whose hearts are burnt with the conflagration of grief and also there is the disappearance of darkness and a sudden change of the world from the visible to the invisible.' Beneath its rapturous exultation, there is an undercurrent of appeal to the sun for the welfare of the poet and the reader.

The poem is a muktaka one having forty one stanzas in Sragdharā metre. The versification is smooth and pleasing. The measured use of anuprāsas has added a musical charm to it.

6. Āsafvilāsa

The work is written by Paṇḍitarāja in praise of Āsafkhān, a high official in the Moghul Court during the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan. The work consists of both prose and peotry. According to the definition of Viśvanāth, it can be classified as an akhyāyikā. From the standpoint of history the work has little value. It describes that once

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Shahjahan went to Kasmir; he had a noble man in his court who was intent on doing good to the Brahmanas, whose learning was like a big three and had dsepth in all śāstras. During Shahjahan's stay in Kasmir, Asafkhan tried his best to promote royal happiness. Jagannātha pleased this noble man and he got the title Paṇḍitarāja through the grace of Shahjahan.

7. Prānābharaṇa

This is a panegyric in praise of Praṇanārayaṇa, the feudatory lord of Kāmarūpa who was the patron of our poet. He refers to him as Kāmarupeśwara or Kāmatādhipa. This laudatory collection of verses depicts the King as the most powerful king in the world. Each verse is accompanied with notes which bring out their rhetorical peculiarity. The writer says that he was highly pleased to hear the poetry of the king of Kamatā. In the introductory verse the poet says that the scholars are silent in this world to bestow laudatory remarks upon others; kings are intoxicated with their vast wealth. So the poet expressess dout who will sing his poetry -

vidvāṁso vasudhātale paravacahślāghāsu vācamyamā
bhūpālāḥ kamalāvilasamadironmīlandmadāghūrṇitāh/
āsye dhāsyati kasya lāsyamadhunā dhanyasya kāmālasā
svarvāmāḍharamadhurimādharayan vācāṁ vilāso mama//

The poet is very extravagent in eulogizing his patron. He describes him with the highest epithets and comprares him with the greatest of the great; he is unparalleled in this universe. Though actually it is a poem with a historical theme, there is little history or any literary merit in it.[1]

8. Jagadābharana

This is another work with a historical theme. The work is identical with the Prāṇābharaṇa with the difference that the poet eulogizes the King Jagatsimha of Udaipur who was another patron of our poet. Thus the same work has been used by the poet to praise two royal patrons with the variations in names, titles and a few epithets. Some scholars hold the view that the work is an eulogy on Dara Sikhoh. But

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Dr. Aryendra Sharma[2] has shown by quoting the last verse of this work that their view is not based on facts. This scholar maintains that Jagadābharaṇa was written earlier than Prāṇābharaṇa.

9. Bhāminīvilāsa

This is undoubtedly the best work of Paṇḍitarāja. It is the collection of detached verses independent of each other and so, it may be called a Kośa Kāvya. According to Dr. Keith[3], the Bhāminīvilāsa is admirable in many respects — as an erotic poem, an elegy and a store of gnomic sayings. The book is divided into four vilāsas — the prāstāvika, śṛngāra, karuṇa and śāntavilāsa. The prāstāvikavilāsa is a collection of gnomic and didactic verses. These are very grand in conception and in expression. Every verse is a ready illustration of anyókti or aprastutaprasamsā. The subject matter of these sayings is numerous. Generally philosophy, morals and practical advice to life are suggested through these verses. The second chapter called śṛngāravilāsa contains the highest number of verses giving passionate expression to the emotion of love. So this chapter is a good specimen of erotic poetry. Here each stanza is a complete unit of sense, expression and imagery and it presents a daintily finished picture of the emotion or a situation. The post has depicted the reactions and subtle variations in the mods and fancies of the lover and the beloved. The poet has an extra-ordinary power to describe the abstract thoughts and feelings. Behind the portrayal of the erotic thought and situation, there is always a particuler woman. Love is a powerful passion and so the poet says-

upaniṣadah parinītā gītā ca hanta ! matipathannītā
tadapi na hā ! vidhuvadanā mānasasadanāt bahiryāti//

(Bhāminivilāsa, 2.37.)

The third vilāsa which goes by the name karuṇavilāsa, dipicts pathetic sentiment and it is a elegiac poetry. An elegy is composed under deep feeling but in different moods. It is reflective in tone and is charactarised by a feeling of melancholy[4]. Judged by this standard, the karuṇavilāsa is undoubtedly an elegy which gives expression to poet's serious pathos. Jagannātha wrote this vilāsa at the sad demise of his beloved.

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The Śāntavilāsa is also a collection of lyrical verses expressing the poet's love for God. It is a spontaneous outburst of the poet's spiritual feeling. The prevailing tone of the verses is one of dedication and surrender to the Lord Kṛṣṇa. The poet is repentent that he forgot the teaching of God due to his arrogance. But now he feels that there is no support in this world except God, and the poet prays to Him for His grace.

The Bhāminīvilāsa and Paṇḍitarāja's Thought

The vicissitudes of mental life centering round the personal relation with a damsel represent the theme of Bhāminīvilāsa. The premature mind of the poet is earnestly eager for the sensuous pleasures to be derived from his intimate contact with a handsome moody lady of blooming youth. He feels that sensuous pleasures can mitigate the agony of the mind which Vedas or the Mahābhārata cannot. The poet writes :

śrutiśātamapi bhūyah śīlitambhāratam vā
viracayati tathā no hanta ! santāpaśāntim/
ayi ! sapadi yathā' yamkeliviśrāntakāntā-
vadanakamala-valga tkān tisāndro nakāraḥ//

Bhāminivilāsa, 2.32.

The poet is enamoured of his beloved and is not tired of describing her personal charm in various ways. He does not forget his lady love even for a moment. It is so deep-rooted in his mind that his personality centres round her. Every moment the memory of his amorous activity with her haunts his mind. He pines for what is lost. He discribes the beauty of his beloved at a particular moment:

nīvīnniyamya śithilāmusasi prakāśamālokya
Vārijadṛsaḥ śayanamjibhaśoḥs/
naivāvarohati kadāpi ca mānasānme
nāveḥ pravā sarasijodarasodarāyāḥ//

Bhāmīnvilāsa, 2.10.

The poet admits that the frame of mind of a man well-equipped with interpretative faculty in the Purāṇas, Smṛtis and other Śāstras can work well until and unless the sweet glances of the deer-eyed lady do enter

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into his mind. With his beloved behaving like Tilottamā, the world appears like a heaven —

tayā tilottamāyantyā mṛgaśāvakacakṣusā/
māmāyamānnuṣo loko nākaloka ivābhavat//

He is so excited in love that sometimes he crosses the limit of normal man and in the tone of an intoxicated man he exclaims :

madhurasānmadhuram hi tavadharantaruṇi
madvadane viniveśaya/
mama gṛhāṇa kareṇa karambujampa-patāmi hāhā ·
bhabha-bhūtale//

Bhāminīvilāsa, 2.173.

But in course of events, his sweet dreams of pleasures dwindle away. He wakes from the fond slumber of pleasing enchantment by the rude shock of bereavement which was created due to the death of his Bhāminī. This created a vacuum in the mind of the poet. He bemoans her death :

daive parāgvadanasālini hanta ! jāte
yāte ca samprati divamprati bandhuratne/
kasmai manaḥ/kathayitāsi nijāmavasthām?
kaḥ śītalaiḥ śamayitā vacanaistavādhim //

Bhāminīvilāsa, 3.1.

The poem bears eloquent witness to poet's domestic affection. He compares his beloved to his poetry which is free from blemishes, possessing guṇas, full of rasas and bhāvas, well-decorated and consisting of sweet letters. He cannot forget her who was so graceful to inspire him to compose poems. At her sad demise, there was a rude shock to his passionate life. He lost not only his charm of life but also the source of inspiration to write sweet poetry-

kāvyātmanā manasi paryaraman purā me
piyūṣasārasadṛśāstave ye vilāsāh/
tānantereṇa ramaṇī ramaṇiyaśīlā
cetoharā sukavitā bhavitā kathannaḥ//

Bhāminīvilāsa, 3.10

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Such a shock shakes up his mind to reflect upon the other end of sensuous life', unhappy incidents lead him to take the dark side of the world into consideration. He realises that the world is transitory, but the mortal body is more transitory, for it, people falsely undergo hardships[5]. 'Every moment, all beings are entering into tbe jaw of death ; even seeing this alas! my mind does not shrink away from worldly pleasures[6].' He visualises that pleasure ends in sorrow and that the lingering one past enjoyments brings about sadness and despair without throwing a ray of hope. So he writes :

mṛddhīkā rasitā sitā samaśitā sphītannipītaṁ payaḥ
svaryātena sudhāpyadhāyi katidhā rambhādharaḥ khaṇḍitaḥ/
satyanbrūhi madiya jīva ! bhavatā bhūyo bhave bhrāmyatā
kṛṣṇetyakṣarayorayammadhuriṁodgāraḥ kvacillakṣitaḥ//

(Bhāminīvilāsa, 4.14.)

This verse gives a profound expression of the sensuous pleasures which once the poet enjoyed, but now he is tired of them. He finds no peace of mind in the world except in the sweet name of lord Kṛṣṇa. He loses charm in the world having paths in jungles in the form of worldly pleasures and so he seeks refuge in Hari alone.

But such a miserable life cannot be desirable of any active thinker endowed with creative genius and poetic imagination. He muses upon the life and its goal and realises that the mundane and temporal interests always enchain our self. But wise men with their bodies heated by extreme heat of the mundane world in the form of summer, forcibly drag out the chain of ignorance and bathe in the pond of ambrosia, which is cool due to absence of any desire.[7] Thus ultimataly he feels absolutely certain that this visible world has no real existence apart from the Highest Soul. He desires for the supreme knowledge of the HIghest Soul which will enable him to see real nature of the world. Thus through the period of reflection he passes onto a life of settled conviction i.e., devotion. This note of devotionalism finds beautiful expression in his religious poetry written under the caption 'laharī'. In his Bhāminīvilāsa also the poet writes:

sapadi vilayametu rājyalaksmī-
rupari patantvathavā kṛpāṇadhārāh/

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apaharatutāraṁ śiraḥ kṛtānto
mama tu matirna manāgapetu dharmāt//

(Śāntavilāsa, 4. 27.)

He finds peace of mind there but misses intellectual satisfaction. His metaphysical aspirations embodied in his anthological verses restore intellectual joy to his thoughtful mind. But so far as tradition goes, Jagannātha ultimately recoils from intellectual pursuits to surrender at the feet of the Highest God (personal God). So he writes:

pātālaṁ vraja yāhi vā surapurimāroha meroḥ śiraḥ
pārāvāraparamparāntara tathā pyāśā naśāntāstava/
ādhivyādhiparāhato yadi sadā kṣemannijaṁ vāncasi
shrīkṛṣṇeti rasāyaṇaṁ rasaya re ! sūnyai
kimanyaiḥ śramaiḥ //

(Bhāminīvilāsa, 4. 11.)

The poet is firm in his conviction that man's quest for peace of mind is not satisfied until and unless he concentrates his mind on Lord Kṛṣṇa. All his attempts to have mental peace end in failure. Only Lord Kṛṣṇa can deliver one and bring bliss to him.

The last part of Paṇḍitarāja's life was not very happy. He had bereavement at the death of his wife. He also was deprived of the liberal patronge at the Moghul court with the death of Shahjahan and Dara Shikoh. The rosy picture of life which once he dreamt in his youthful days was shattered. Due to his vanity of youth he was not interested in devotion. But at the fag end of life, he repents for his past deeds. In a fit of dejection, the poet is forced to admit his past folly. But God is forgiving. He does not neglect even the worst sinner. We may be allured by the sensuous pleasures, but God looks all as his own children. The poet says-

vācā nirmalayā sudhāmadhurayā yannātha sikṣāmadāstāṁ
swapne' pi na saṁsmaramyahāmbhāvāvrto nistrapaḥ/
ityāgaśataśālinampunarapi sviyeṣu māmbibhratstvatto
nāsti dayānidhiryadupate ! matto na mattaḥ paraḥ//

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This verse is an open confession of poet's repentence for his past misdeed. Due to sheer foolishness, he considered this world to be the real one and forget Lord who is the only support and source of solace of the afflicted humanity. He falls back into his own wretched self and groans under the woe of life. But he is assured that Lord Kṛṣṇa is his saviour. He is the Highest God and is there always overhead. With a feeling of morbidity due to mental shock Jagannātha turns into a world-wearied pessimist. He loses all interest in life. His quest for truth embodied in metaphysical poetry no longer gives him any peace of mind. He, however, prefers peace of mind to intellectual joy. So he retraces his steps and embrances devotional life until and unless death assures him of undisturbed peace of mind.

Jagannātha's Style

'Certainly wine, grapes, even the very nectar as well as the sweetness of the lower lips of beautiful women may perhaps not yield delight to some. But alas! those dull headed ones whom the word of Jagannātha does not give delight, though living, are just like dead ones'.[8] (Bhāminīvilāsa, 4. 42).

This is what Jagannātha writes of his poetry. It is his bold assertion that his poetry is sweeter than other delicious things. Though it strikes a note of challenge and vaunt, this is the self appreciation of Paṇḍitarāja of his own poetry and the truth of these words of the poet—aesthetician will have to be admitted. In fact, Jagannātha is a great literary genius of India. Though he flourished in the artificial age of Sanskrit poetry, the attraction of him lies in his flight of poetic fancy and vast knowledge and wisdom which he acquired by the study of the different branches of learning. He is unmistakably the finest master of the Indian poetic style professed by him and is free from the extravagances with which many of later Sanskrit poets are engrossed. He has a facile pen that can write in an enchanting and elegant style. He has written both poetry and criticism and has adopted his style to the topic selected by him. In poetry, his language is simple and as sweet as honey. But in his criticism he is strong and argumentative. His

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criticial writing is marked by accuracy, aptness and clarity of thought and expression.

To appreciate Jagannātha's poetry, we must be familiar with his conception of poetry. Defining poetry as 'word conveying charming sense', he gives great prominence to word in poetry. However without going into controversy of its soul and body, it may be asserted that words are of prime importance in poetry. If in a metrical composition, words cannot attract the ear, who will try to understand the sense? So Subandhu declares in his romance Vāsavadattā—

aviditaguṇāpi satkavibhaṇitiḥ karṇeṣu vamati madhuradhārāṁ
anadhigataparimalāpi ca harati dṛśaṁ mālatīmālā

(Quoted by P.V. Kane in his notes of Sāhitya Darpaṇa, p. 167).

'A good poet's song, though its merits have not been fully understood, pours honeyed stream into ear. A garland of Mālatī flowers, the fragnance of which has not been perceeived, rivets the eye.'

But as a matter of fact, it is not only difficult but impossible as well, to compose verse in Sanskrit in sweet and elegant style observing all cannons of grammar. The Sanskrit rhetoricians also insisted in selecting suitable word for proper delineation of rasa. So gradually Sanskrit appeared to be difficult as medium of poetry and Prākrit was prefered to Sanskrit for versification. Rājaśekhara the great poet and poetician in one advocated Prākrit as the best medium of poetic expression in the ninth century when Sanskrit language was very popular.[9] Jagannātha's time was quite different. During his time, Hindi grew as a popular language. Surdas, Tulsidas, Bihari and many other Hindi poets enriched Hindi poetry with sweet and elegant contribution. Sanskrit literature and alaṁkāra śāstra made immense contribution to the growth of Hindi literature. The Hindi poets belonging to the Rīti School were highly influenced by the masters of Sanskrit learning.[10] Jagannātha flourished in the golden period of Hindi poetry and saw the immense popularity of it. He also wanted to make Sanskrit popular. So he framed some rules for versification in Sanskrit and illustrated them by his own examples. Thus, though he was born in an age when Sanskrit poetry arrived at artificiality, he was undoubtedly successful

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in the minute and difficult poetic art to which he was devoted. Unlike most of the Sanskrit poets of decadent age when poetry was confined to the narrow world of erotic themes, Paṇḍitarāja's poetry was free from this restricted scope. He wrote poetry on varied subjects which can mainly be classified under the following heads — didactive, erotic, religious and metaphysical. As he wrote on a variety of subjects, he had unfolded life in more normal and comprehensive manner. In delineating the subtle human emotions, Jagannātha's verses show Sanskrit to the best advantage. Every verse of his poetry is a self contained one and each idea presented in each verse is completely free from all superfluities. His verses suggest much more than they express. So every stanza in his poetry presents itself as a poem in miniature where there is little scope for development.

Like Bhartṛhari, Paṇḍitarāja speaks in many tones in his didactic poetry. Sometimes he describes something non-contextual and through it, he suggests something contextual. The vein of didacticism and anyāpadeśa runs through all the verses of Prāstāvikavilāsa. Thus the poet suggests the nature of a generous man through the description of clouds in the following verse:

śṛṇvaṅ purā paruṣagarjitamasya hanta!
re pāntha! vihvalamanā na manāgapi syāḥ/
viśvārtivāraṇasamarpitajīvito'yaṁ
nākarṇitaḥ kimu sakhe! bhavatā' mbuvāha//

(Bhāminīvilāsa, 1.36.)

Sometimes a good moral is taught with examples:

amitaguṇo' pi padārtho doṣoṇaikena nindito bhavati/
nikhilarasāyanamahito gandhogreṇa laśuna iva//

(Bhāminivilāsa, 1.79.)

The idea of this verse at once brings to our mind the similar idea expressed in the following verse of Daṇḍin -

tadalpama'pi nopekṣaṁ kāvye dustaṁ kathamcana/
syādvapuḥ sundaramapi sevitrenaikena durbhagaṁ//

(Kāvyādarsā, 1.7.)

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'Hence a slight flaw should not be tolerated in poetry on any account. A body, though handsome will be repulsed by a single mark of leprosy.'

The nature of the wicked person however learned in sastric lore is not changed :

niṣṇāto'pi ca vedante sādhutvaṁ naiti durjanaḥ/
cirañjalanidhau magno maināka eva mārdavaṁ
Bhāminīvilasa, 1.85.

Similar is the idea of the verse of Bhartṛhari -

durjanaḥ parihartavyo vidyayālamkṛto'pi san/
maṇinā bhūṣitaḥ sarpaḥ kimasau na bhayankaraḥ//

A man devoid of good quality does not shine. This is illustrated by the following verse -

nirguṇah śobhate naivaa vipulādambaro' pi nā/
āpātaramyapuṣpashrīsobhitā śālmaliryathā
(Bhāminīvilāsa, 1. 112.)

These common stock of ideas are found frequently in some of the didactic verses. But Paṇḍitarāja suggests these ideas in a very agreeable manner. His success as a poet lies in his charming expression.

Jagannātha's poetic style is best illustrated in his Rasagangādhara. His poetic art is based on his aesthetic criteria found in the RG. In one of the verses of his Bhāminīvilāsa (3/6), he gives an aesthetic appreciation of his poetry in terms of Sanskrit poetics. Here he assures that his poetry is free from any blemish, possessing excellences, rich in rasa and bhāvas, replete with decorations and full of sweet words. Unquestionably he is the master of Indian poetic style. He is not sparing in use of all means of adding poetic charm to his poetry. Thus he has introduced guṇas and alaṁkāras freely in poetry and his love for alaṁkāras deters him in no way in depicting the subtle human sentiments. And in the portrayal of these feelings and emotions he has made use of expressions that strike our fancy and create wonder and admiration.

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Though Paṇḍitarāja has an extra-ordinary power of describing unsubstantial thoughts and feelings as well as objective realities, his success as a poet lies in his power of suggestion. He is a great exponent of dhvani both in theory and practice and his first variety of Kāvya, namely Uttamottama Kāvya is the dhvani-Kāvya par excellence. All varieties of dhvani-kāvya, viz., vastudhani, rasadhvani and alaṁkāradhvani would be included in his Uttamottama Kāvya. But in his theory and practice, rasadhvanī enjoys a predominant position and among nine rasas again, śṛngāra rasa is given a highest place. This is clear from his own statements from Asafvilāsa -

'sārvabhaumasamvāndhiṣu sakaleṣu vānmayeṣviva
kāvyakalāpaḥ kāvyakalāpesviva dhvaniḥ
dhvaniṣviva raso raseṣviva śṛngāraḥ ... .'

Thus we shall see that Jagannātha not only affirms the supremacy of rasa-dhvani in his theory, but also he gives it a prominent place in his own creative works. In the delineation of rasa, he is however conventional like most of the Sanskrit poets. He has depicted love in both aspects - love in separation and love in union on the traditional line. The following verse is a finest specimen of love in union:

kelīmandiramāgatasys śānakairālīrapāsyengitaiḥ
suptāyāḥ saruṣaḥ sarojadṛśaḥ saṁvijanaṁ kurvataḥ/
jānantyāpyanajnayaiva kapaṭavyāmilitakṣāḥ sakhi
śrantā' sityabhidhāya vakṣasi tayā pāṇirmamāsanjitaḥ//

(Bhāminīvilāsa, 2.83.)

Love in separation is delineated in the picture of a sorrowing bride-

nayanānchalavamarśāṁ yā na kadācit purā sahe/
ālingitā' pi joṣantasthau sā gantukena dāyitena//

(Bhāminīvilāsa, 2.47.)

'She who formerly could never tolerate the casting of glances, remained silent, though embraced by her beloved who was parting to a foregin land from her'.

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Jagannātha excels in delineation of other sentiments too, and particularly his delineation of Karuṇa rasa is unique and deserves all praise from the aesthetic viewpoint. Thus the poet effectively describes the tragic shock which he got at the death of his beloved -

pratyudgatā savinayaṁ sahasā pureva
smaraih smarasya sacivai sarasā' valokaiḥ/
māmadya manjuvacanaiśca bāle !
hā ! leśatōpi na kathaṁ śisīrī karoti//

(Bhāminīvilāsa 3/2.)

'O my beloved, why don't you please me today with your sweet words, pleasing glances and smiles, which are the friend of cupid, suddenly approaching me slowly as you did in the past?'

Although there is no scope for the realisation of heroic sentiment in Jagannātha's poetry which is mostly, devotional, erotic and didactic in nature, there are however some verses depicting dayāvīra, kṣamāvīra etc. The verse cited below is a finest specimen of emotion depicting kṣamāvīra -

api bahaladahanajālammūrdhṇi ripurme nirantaraṁ dharatu/
pātayatu vā 'sidhārāmahamaṇumātrann kincidāvabhāṣe//

(Bhāminīvilāsa, 4/28)

'Let my enemy enkindle a big fire on my head or through the sharp edge of a sword, yet I shall not raise a single protest.'

The bulk of Jagannātha's poetry is devotional. But they are not mere exposition of religious emotions; they are the aesthetic expressions of a devout bhakta. Though Bengal Vaiṣṇava writers accepted bhakti (devotion) as a rasa, Sanskrit rhetoricians have denied that status to Bhakti. According to them it is a bhāva only. Jagannātha too, accepts it as a bhāva. However, in the entire body of the devotional verses of his Śāntavilāsa, the poet as a votary pays his homage to his personal God with a mind free from pride and eyes full of tears indicating love for Him. The poet implores with all earnestness to destroy his sin and to give him light. His instinctive religousity, spirit of dedication and emotion of love for God are expressed through the

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verses of his Śāntavilāsa. A finest specimen of religious sentiment is betrayed by the following verse:

jagajjālamjyotsnāmayanavasudhābhirjaṭilayanjanānāṁ
santāpaṁ trividhadamapi sadyaḥ praśamayaṅ/
śrito vṃdāraṇyan natanikhilavṃdārakavṛto mama
svāntadhvāntantirayatu navīno jaladharaḥ //

(Bhāminīvilāsa 4/5)

'Filling the whole of universe with new ambrosia of the rays of the moon and mitigating the sufferings of the people immediately, may the cloud taking shelter in the Vṃdā forest and surrounded by gods, remove my mental gloom.'

Alongwith rasadhvani, bhāva, rasābhāsa, bhāvābhāsa etc. also are ably delineated by our Paṇḍitarāja with the consequents, or external manifestations and transitory feelings. Thus bhāvadhani is illustrated by the following verse :

yadavadhi dayito vilocanābhyāṁ
sahacari! daivavaśena dūrato 'bhūt/
tadavadhi sithilīkṛto madiyairatha
karaṇaiḥ praṇayo nijakriyāṣu//

(Bhāminīvilāsa 2/105)

'That time O friend ! my beloved unfortunately disappeared from my view, my organs lost their zeal for work.'

There is a brilliant picture of a newly married lady frightened at the embrace of her husband. This is an illustration of Śṃgārabhāsa -

bhujapanjare gṛhitā navaparinītā vareṇa rahasi vadhūḥ/
tatkālajālapatitā bālakuraṇgīva vepate nitarām//

(Bhāminīvilāsa 2/36).

'Being embraced by the bridegroom, the newly married bride began to tremble, like a young fawn caught in a net instantaneously.'

Paṇḍitarāja is a great master of alaṁkāras and he has introduced them in his poetry with perfect skill. According to him, alaṁkāras are not mere external beautification; they add charm to the suggested s ise in poetry when properly used. In Jagannātha's poetry, they enjoy a proper placing and so they add charm to poetry. His use of them is

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natural and effortless and so it is graceful. He has introduced both types of alaṁkāras-śabdālaṁkāras and arthālaṁkāras, though, of course, śabdālaṁkāras are not very prominent in his poetry. But he excels others in the use of those figures of sense. However, his poetry shows that it is marked by the balanced use of both varieties of figures — verbal and ideal. We shall refer here to the prominent figures of speech decorating his poetry.

Alliteration is the most favourite of all his verbal figures and Jagannātha has introduced it in his poetry freely with perfect skill and force. The apt use of alliteration has rendered the language of his poetry musical.The use of this figure is not an end itself, but it has served emotions and so it has become the means of realisation of rasa. The following instances of anuprāsa will show how it has brought charm to his verses:

(i) yenāmandamarande daladaravinde dināṅyanāyiṣata/

(Bhāminīvilāsa 1.9.)

(2) kariṇāmariṇā harinā hariṇālī hanyatāntu kathaṁ//

(Bhāminīvilāsa 1.49.)

Another verbal figure found in his poetry is Yamaka. Though it is rare, the use of this figure is quite pleasing. It is not introduced deliberately to produce sound effects only and as such it lends pleasing effect to his poetry. The following instance will show Jagannatha's skill in Yamaka -

śayitā śavidhe' pyaniśvara saphalikartumaho! manorathān/
dayitā dayitānanambujam daramilannayanā nīrikṣate//

(Bhāminīvilāsa 2/100.)

Another favourite verbal figure introduced by him is ślesa (paranomasia). This figure is found generally with other figures. The verse cited above will illustrate his skill in the employment ślesa with aprastulaprasamsā.

Of all ideal figures. upamā (simile) finds a supreme position in the scheme of his poetic embellishment. This is quite natural, because to express idea, upamā is of highest importance. His similes are lively and artistic; they are the products of his imaginative faculty. His wide knowledge coupled with his depth of his observation of nature and life

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are exhibited to the highest advantage. His standards of comparison mostly drawn from the world of nature add new colour and freshness to the object compared and as result, they appear to be charming before the mind's eyes of the reader. A few example may be cited here. Jagannātha compares the beauty of the teeth tinged with the rays of the red lips with Kesara flowers.[9] The curl hair of the heroine falling from her cheeks upon her breasts looks like a snake touching Meru from the disc of the moon.[10] The face of the deer-eyed lady covered by her black garment looks like the moon reflected on the deep water of the Yamuna.[11]

Utprekṣā (poetical fancy) is another favourite figure of Jagannātha in his scheme of embellishment. He employs it in the depiction of female beauty. Thus the two breasts of a lady increased in proportion due to the pleasure of mutual contact and the waist being unable to tolerate it, attains thinness as it were.[12] A pearl necklace on the bosom of a love-lorn lady is described thus:

viyogavahṇikuṇde' smin hṛdaye te viyogini /
priyāsngasukhayeva muktāhārastapasyati //

(Bhāminīvilāsa 2.147.)

He also employs this figure in his fanciful description and the use of this figure renders the object described a vividness and new light. Thus the King of Kāmarūpa is described thus -

'dvinetra iva vāsavaḥ karayugo vivaswāniva'

(Prāṇabharaṇa verse 22)

Rūpaka (metaphor) is another alaṁkāra where Paṇḍitarāja equally excels in. He carefully employs this figure to bear upon the tone of situation that he wants to present. The subtle use of rūpaka in his metaphysical and didactic verses delights the mind of the reader -

ānandamṛgadāvāgniḥ śīlaśākhimadadvipaḥ/
jnānadīpamahāvāyurayaṁkhalasamāgamaḥ//

(Bhāminīvilāsa 1.107).

'The company with the wicked is a fire conflagration for the deer in the form of delight, an elephant in ruts for trees in the form of character and a gale for the lamp of knowledge.'

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Aprastutaprasaṁsā also occupies an important position in Jagannātha's scheme of ornamentation. He has used this figure in the didactic verses to suggest moral philosophy. His another device of bringing some moral teaching consists in the employment of the figure prativastūpamā. We come across such instances in the gnomic verses of his Bhāminīvilāsa -

khalāstu kuśalāh sādhuhitaprat̤yūhakarmaṇi/
nipuṇāh phaṇinaḥ prāṇānapahartunnirāgasāṁ//

(Bhāminīvilāsa,1.108).

The wicked persons are adept in putting obstacles on the act of doing good to others. The serpents are expert in taking away the lives of the innocent.

Vyatirek (contrast) is employed to describe physical charm of a lady :

aruṇamapi vidrumadrumamr̤dulatarancāpi ḳisalayamvāle/
adharīkaroti nitarāntavādharo madhurimātiśayāt//

(Bhāminīvilāsa, 2.87).

Jagannātha's poetry abounds in numerous figures of speech. But while introducing these figures, he has not sacrificed poetic ideas for rhetorical excess. He believes that alaṁkāras contribute in effecting the delineation of the emotional moods. So his poetry shows a fine adjustment of word and sense. But his success as a poet lies in the fact that, in his poetry, all poetic elements like rasa, alaṁkāra, guṇas etc. are subdued to create a harmony of artistic perfection. He has a perfect command over language and can write in simple, chaste and melodious style. He avoids all artificial devices and superfluous convention of the later Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, his poems are characterised by brevity and perspicuity. He possesses a peculiar power of forming short sentences in quick succession. He has a rich store of words, both simple and compound, and he has deliberately attuned them and enlivened them with the haunting poetic suggestion. His proper use of words at proper place gives his poetry a clarity and felicity of expression. There are many idioms and phrases in Paṇḍitarāja's writings which haunt the memory of readers even after lapse of time. A few lines here may be cited from his Bhāminivilāsa:

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(1) 'niṣṇāto' pi ca vedante sādhutvamnaiti durjanaḥ/'

(2) nirguṇāh sobhate naiva vipuladambaro' pi na//

(3) 'āmodo na hi kasturyāḥ sapathen vibhāvyate'/

Another important feature of Sanskrit literary style is the use of the guṇas (excellences) in poetry. Paṇḍitarāja has accepted three guṇas, namely, mādhurya, prasāda and ojas in theory, but in practice he has illustrated all the ten guṇas of the ancient rhetoricians. His style, in terms of Sanskrit poetics, may be called Vaidarbhī which, according to Daṇḍin[13], is characterised by ten guṇas. We shall illustrate here some of the excellences used by the poet.

The most important excellence, which Jagannātha embodies in his poetry is prasāda. He uses the term in their conventional meaning and so are easily understood. His diction in his Bhāminīvilāsa is characterised by the prasāda (perspicuity of meaning). As an illustration of this, the following verse may be cited:

gurumadhyagatā mayā natāngī
nihatā nirajakorakeṇa mandaṁ/
darakuṇḍala tāṇḍavannatabhrū-
latikammāmavalokya ghūrṇitāsīt//

(Bhāminīvilāsa 2.17).

Another prominent excellence in Jagannātha's poetry is mādhurya or sweetness. This excellence belongs both to word and sense. Jagannātha's conception of sweetness of sense differs from that of other rhetoricians. Actually his definition of mādhurya as an arthaguṇa refers to the very poetic art which poets employ to add aesthetic charm to their poetry. Generally mādhurya or sweetness consists in the use of appropriate letters suggesting aesthetic joy (rasa) in poetry. This may be illustrated by the following verse:

tīre taruṇyā vadanaṁ sahāsaṁ
nīre sarojaṁ miladvikāśaṁ/
ālokya dhāvatyubhayatra mugdhā
marandalubdhā 'likiśoramālā//

(Bhāminīvilāsa 2.20)

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'Beholding the smiling face of the damsel on the bank and the blooming lotuses in water, the swarm of foolish bees, greedy of honey, runs both sides.'

His verbal figure mādhurya is a word-sequence and it has given his writing an elegance with alliteration. The same remark is applied to other excellences of words; they have added charm and gracefulness to his poetry. The following verse will aptly illustrate the verbal beauty of his composition -

nitarāmparuṣā sarojamālā
na mṛṇālani vicārapeśalāni/
yadi komalatā tavangakānā-
matha kā nāma kathāpi pallavānāṁ//

(Bhaminivilasa 2.2).

Thus Jagannātha's position as a poet will remain unique for the literary standard he has cultivated in his poetry. No later Sanskrit poet can approach him in point of measured word which he has marvelled gracefully in his Bhāminīvilāsa. His diction is rich and elevated; his happy use of words and phrases and delightful twists of expression to suit various figures of speech have lent a peculiar charm to his poetry. Even in his use of alliteration, of which the poet is very fond, he is not extravagant to employ it as a mere verbal trick. He has introduced it in a finished form inseparable from the poetic expression and thus it results in fine adjustment of sound and sense. The apt choice of words and their harmony with haunting suggestion renders his diction a felicity and clarity and for this poetic art Paṇḍitarāja earns a high position in the imposing gallery of Sanskrit poets.

We shall close this chapter on Paṇḍitarāja's as a poet and critic with brief reference to his prose style which he adopts in his Āsafvilāsa, a panegyric written to eulogise his patron Nawab Asaf Khan. It is an ākhyāyikā written in prose along with some verses. The prose structures of this panegyric might be modelled on that of Samudragupta written by Hariṣeṇa on a stone-pillar at Allahabad. The writer here seems to have been influenced by the great prose writers in Sanskrit literature like Bāṇa, Subandhu and Daṇḍin. But the works of these authors have a narrative with some character and Jagannātha's

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ākhyāyikā has no such narrative and also ends abruptly.[14] In his writing, he uses long sentences with verbal complexities. Alliteration, pun and all other verbal tricks are introduced in a long sentence. Such instances of verbal dexterity are found very often in Sanskrit Prose Kāvya. But unwearied use of them in a small narrative destroys the very purpose for which they are used. The writer, however, cultivates a clever manipulation of words and produces marvellous sound effect by the use of alliteration. Such hyperbolic mannerism pervades the Āsafvilasa and the manner gets the upper hand of matter. Thus Jagannātha, a poet of considerable eminence is not successful as a prose writer. Like Bāṇabhaṭṭa who could not prove himself successful in verse writing, Jagannātha also shares the same fate when he intrudes in a field foreign to his taste and genius, i.e., the field of prose composition.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Dr. Das Gupta, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 364.
2. Paṇḍitarāja Kāvya Saṁgraha, Introduction, p.iv.
3. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 234.
4. Worsfold, *Judgment in Literature*, p.98.
5. *Bhāminivilasa*, 3.25.
6. *Ibid*, 3.26.
7. Bhāminīvilāsa, 4.21.
8. Sheshadri's translation.
9. paruṣa sakkabandhā pāabandhohi hoi suumāro/
   puriśamahilānām jettiamihantaraṁ tettiamimanaṁ//
   (Karpūramanjarī, 1.7.)
10. Ram Awadh Dwivedi, *A Critical Survey of Hindi Literature*, p. 93.
9. *Bhāminīvilasa* 2.120.
10. *ibid*, 2.129
11. *ibid*, 2.128.
12. *ibid*, 2.144.
13. *Kavyadarsha* 1.41—42
14. *Paṇḍitarāja Kavya Saṁgraha*, Introduction, p.iv.

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EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Jagannātha — Poet and Critic

In the foregoing pages, we have made a detailed study in the aesthetic principles of criticism of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha and his poetical works. Now we shall try here to summarise his outstanding achievement as a poet and literary critic. In assessing him as a poet, we should remember that Paṇḍitarāja was both poet and literary critic and these two separate faculties were combined in him like other celebrated writers on alaṁkaraśāstra like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Abhinavagupta whose stray compositions are pointers to their creative merit. To appreciate the true spirit of the literary works of these writers, a clear knowledge of the comprehensive interpretation of their aesthetic theories is essential. Similarly in the assessment of Jagannātha as a poet, we should remember this rare gift of combination of two faculties — creative and appreciative which went in a long way to make him a great poet, too, side by side with his importance as the tallest in the Indian literary criticism.

Jagannātha was undoubtedly a versatile genius. He enriched the field of Sanskrit poetry by his unique contribution. His claim to

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greatness is based on his bold attempt to rise above his time thereby lifting Sanskrit poetry from artificiality and decadance into which it had descended. The essential greatness of his works is the nobility and the loftiness of theme. Indeed Paṇḍitarāja made a bold attempt to give Sanskrit poetry a prestige position in the age of vernacular and Persian. He possessed an excellent poetic gift of rich esemplastic imagination and a high soaring poetic fancy of extraordinary order. The writer as a poet is conscious of his great creative power and he, like Bhavabhūti, says in a self-conscious and self -confident tone in his Rasagangādhara, 'I have given here new illustrations of poetry from my own pen and not that of others. Is the smell of flower taken even mentally by the mask-deer capable of producing Kasturi'? (Rasagangādhara, Introductory verse 6). No one can deny that Jagannātha is justified in making such a proud statement. As a critic he holds the view that genius is the sole requisite of a poet and he amply satisfies this condition. Apart from his genius he had a thorough education and gounding in everything that goes to make one great scholar and truly inspired poet. The list of subjects he learnt as mentioned in the introductory verse of his Rasagangādhara enabled him to become a Kavi-paṇḍita in the true sense of the term. His mastery over these subjects enabled him to imbibe the true spirit of that age of polemics. The study of the rhetorical works from Bharata to Appayadīkṣita was done critically by him, for he, on many occasions differed with the opinions of his predecessors. He also did not neglect the poetical works of Hindi poets. He read Bihari and other popular Hindi poets of his time.

Jagannātha's poetic genius is that of a lyrical poet. He has written some of the finest lyric poems in Sanskrit poetry. His poems dealing with devotional themes are the superb examples of his vision and rhetorics both. Though they are minor poems, they are noble creations in Sanskrit literature and can rank equal to the best of Śaṅkarāchārya Bāṇa and Mayūra. Paṇḍitarāja's Gangālaharī is very popular in India and every student of Sanskrit stotra-literature is familiar with it. Equally famous are his Amṛtalaharī, Sudhālaharī and Karuṇalaharī. They are the beautiful devotional poems whose merit is universally acknowledged.

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But employment of devotional theories may not be an index to literary quality; for, there are different values for the devotee and for the critic. Devotional poetry comes within the purview of literary appreciation only when it is not mere extravagant laudation. Dr. De rightly remarks, 'But when these devout utterances represent a professional effort and not born gift a systematic exposition of religious emotions and ideas and not their automatic fusion in an instinctively poetical and devotional personality, they seldom reach the true accent of great religious poems.'[1] Jagannātha's devotional lyrics show a fusion of fervent religious sentiment and highest aesthetic quality and the poet is undoubtedly one of the loftiest and spontaneous *stotra*-writer in the history of Sanskrit literature.

Another important contribution of Paṇḍitarāja to the history of Sanskrit literature is his didactic poetry. The Prāstāvikavilāsa and many other anyoktis constitute his didactic poetry which provides a good deal of moral and ethical doctrines. They are, however, not mere catalogue of moral utterances. The style of these verses are interestingly known as anyapadeśa or oblique instruction. The moral is concealed in the garb of describing some other objects or in making it apparently addressed to some persons other than are meant. These works testify Paṇḍitarāja's power of observation and his unique worldly wisdom.

Equally notable contribution of the poet is his erotic poetry. The Śṛngāravilāsa represents a finest specimen of his erotic poetry. Though somewhat overloaded and presented within the limit of a self-standing stanza, the charm of these stanzas consists in richness of theme in its emotional appeal and grace. In these verses, the poet gives miniature pictures of love in its moments and moods of delicate subtelities. Jagannātha, of course, is not so great a poet in the sense as Kālidāsa is; but he can be easily compared with Amaru and Hāla in the depiction of love. In the Śṛngāravilāsa, the sentiment of love is defined, analysed and classified industriously in all its moods and situations. Such procedure was highly attractive in poetry of that medieval scholastic age when Bihari and other Hindi poets of Rīti School depicted love in its various aspects. Judged by his own conception of poetry, Jagannātha shows himself a talented poet. In the depiction various sentiments or rasas, he

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has evinced much of calibre. Though he cannot be compared with Kālidāsa or Bhavabhuti in the depiction of acute agony of feeling, but nevertheless he also could build up situation to give aesthetic pleasure in the minds of the responsive critics. In Sanskrit sentimental poetry, Paṇḍitarāja's poetry will remain as one of the finest creations on account of its delicacy of thought, splendour and appropriate expression. But the most remarkable feature of him as a poet is that he can adapt his language to the topic he describes. He has a great command over language and is a master of style and expression. He has fully adjusted his language to the demands of his subject and we notice a happy wedding between senses and sound in a good many stanzas of his lyrical poems. In these poems, the poet has adapted his language in such a manner that the sound is echo to the senses. Thus we see that there is, indeed, a spirit which animates the poetry of Jagannātha — the spirit which is essentially a spirit of delight which is calculated to create a new hope and cheers for Sanskrit poetry in the midst of sweet vernacular and Persian poetry.

Having said so much about him as a poet, we shall now try to make an appraisal of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja as a critic. He belonged to the last part of the scholastic age. He is the last stalwart among the Sanskrit rhetoricians and critics and he still remains the last and the tallest. He comes to the field of Sanskrit criticism in the modern age when Sanskrit poetics had almost crossed the last stage of development. His age is marked by elaboration rather than creation. The chief function of the critics of the period consists in summarizing the views of the ancient writers in a systematic form with further fine distinctions and hair-splitting subdivisions. The various concepts of alaṁkāra śāstra were already thoroughly discussed with arguments and counter-arguments from the time of Bharata and were set forth by different rhetoricians. Panditaraja is the last representative of this tradition; he states the views of ancient writers and on many occasion he presents them in a more lucid manner than they are presented by their originators. But his success lies not in their summary and elaboration but in proper evaluation of the views of his predecessors. So in many cases the ancient writers hardly get his unqualified support. For

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example, he has vehemently criticised the views of Viśvanāth, Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and Appayadīkṣita.

The concept of the soul of poetry was already come into existence. Poetry was judged from different point of view by the critics of different schools. A comprehensive view of poetry should make a reference to all its aspects. But as a matter of fact, Sanskrit rhetoricians before Jagannātha instead of attempting any co-ordination and harmonization of various aspects are found to lay emphasis on this or that single aspect of poetry according to the tradition to which they belonged. Jagannātha tries to come to a synthetic view about the conception of poetry. He makes a point of departure as a literary critic by defining poetry as words conveying charming sense. The concept of charmingness or ramaṇīyatā is a novel one in the history of Sanskrit criticism. It cannot be equated with rasa, guṇa, alaṁkāra or any other concepts laid down by his predecessors. It has a broader sense and includes within it all principles of Sanskrit poetics. Obviously Paṇḍitarāja makes a beautiful synthesis of a number of values of this very concept of ramaṇīyatā which revolutionises all standards of criticism.

Dr. N. N. Chaudhury[2] has associated the name of Jagannātha with śabdaprādhānya-prasthāna on the plea that he lays marked emphasis on śabda and presumably he connects his name with Daṇḍin who defines Kāvya as groups of words characterised by a happy idea. But while Daṇḍin is regarded as a propounder of both of the alaṁkāra and rīti school, Paṇḍitarāja does not affiliate himself to any one of them exclusively. Despite his marked emphasis on śabda in poetry, he is out and out a supporter of the rasa-cum-dhvani theory as advocated by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. He accepts the suggested sense as the soul of poetry. But unlike other Dhvani theorists, he does reject that class of poetry as non-Kāvya where there is no suggestion of rasa.

Taking ramaṇīyatā (charmingness) as the criterion of poetry, Paṇḍitarāja divides it into four classes. His first variety, namely, uttamottama is the dhvani-kāvya par excellence where sound and sense, subordinating themselves, suggest a beautiful sense. When the suggested sense is rendered secondary but is still charming on account

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of expression in beautiful alaṁkāra, then this is an instance of uttama-kāvya. The third variety of poetry will include those Kāvyas where the charm of the expressed sense is on equal footing with the charm of suggested sense. This, Jagannātha calls the madhyama Kāvya. We have his fourth variety of Kāvya where the charm of sound embellished by the charm of sense is the principle one. Thus our writer is obviously guided by the principle of charmingness in his hierarchy and so rules out the possibility of the fifth variety having charm of sound but devoid of the charm of sense.

As an exponent of beauty (ramaṇīyāta) in poetry, Jagannātha gives poetry a definite footing making the concept its the life-principle. He gives it a fine exposition and elucidates all other concepts of poetry on the basis of this very priniciple of ramaṇīyātā. He points out the relationship of ramaṇīyātā with all other concepts of literary criticism and this is the most remarkable contribution of Jagannātha to the history of Sanskrit poetics. There are some scholars who hold the view that Paṇḍitarāja cannot claim originality in this definition; this definition, according to these scholars reminds us of Daṇḍin's definition of poetry (cf. śarīrāṁ tāvadiṣṭārthavyavacinnā padāvalī, Kāvyādarśa, 1.10). Again, according to these scholars ramaṇīyatā is a term which is unfamiliar in Indian poetics. As. Prof. S. P. Bhattacharjee remarks - 'In Indian poetics, rasa, guṇa, doṣa and alaṁkāra are treated. Nowhere in this lakṣaṇa nor its vṛtti is this requisites directly complied with. Ramaṇīyatā, no doubt, is a jāti (genus) but it is not a ruḍhi in the śāstra (term with strictly defined connotation)'.[3] In reply to the remark of the learned scholar, it may be said that Jagannātha ventures to suggest a unique synthesis of all aesthetic principles and to connote this uniqueness, a distinct term has been coined by him. As an aesthetician, he believes that literature is an art and primary duty of all arts is to exercise aesthetic joy in ideal reasders. In the history of Sanskrit criticism, the concepts like rīti, guṇa alaṁkāra etc. have been shown individually to be too narrow to include the whole gamut of aesthetic experience which is the essence of all literature. Even exclusive pursuit

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of either dhvani or rasa impoverises the field of literary composition. Poetry is an aesthetic expression where form and matter together constitute the harmonious unity, and rasa, guṇa and alaṁkāra become the integral part of such an aesthetic presentation which gives rise to a super normal pleasure. Such a pleasure is unique because it cannot be compared with any other pleasure in life. As in music harmony is the soul of its charmingness, so in poetry also harmony of sense and sound, proportion, excellent qualities and emotions etc. should not be neglected. Over emphasis on one of these elements mars the beauty of a literary composition. This is the main point which Paṇḍitarāja is driving at in his discussions. He, however, raises serious objections against the definitions of Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha which provide an interesting study in the history of Sanskrit criticism. Viśvanātha's definition of Kāvya is more or less subjective just like swarūpa lakṣaṇa of Brahma in the Advaita system. The definition of Kāvya as given by Mammaṭa is more or less a description of Kāvya, but not a logical one. Paṇḍitarāja, on the other hand, noticing defects in both the definitions offers a definition of Kāvya which more or less resembles the taṭastha lakṣaṇa of Brahma as given in the Advaita system. So his new definition has been much more comprehensive to include within itself all classes of literary products, high and low.

Jagannātha's treatment of rasa is very commendable. Though he does not mention rasa as the soul of poetry in his definition he implies by his analysis that it is of supreme if not sole importance in poetry. Jagannātha's interpretation gives the final shape to it which is the crowning phase of Indian Aesthetics. Apart from his own view, he has presented the views of others including those of classicists like Lollata, Śankuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka and Abhinavagupta. In stating the view of Abhinavagupta, Paṇḍitarāja bases the theory on Vedanta metaphysics. Dr. K.C. Pandey has criticised Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja for interpreting Abhinava's Aesthetic Theory in the light of Vedanta philosophy.[4] But according to us, Dr. Pandey has missed the condition of Jagannātha's time. Śaiva philosophy became obsolete in Jagannātha's time. In order to base theory of Abhinava on a familiar metaphysical reality, he has had to graft it on a new system of metaphysical thought. Jagannātha's

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ignorance is not responsible for this grafting. But the predilection of his age for Vedanta philosophy of Advaita school has compelled Jagannātha to do so. The net result of this grafting has not been very happy. So he has suggested a new theory of his own to suit the purpose.

Paṇḍitarāja's exposition of rasa, however, is not based on the drama but on poetry. In his exposition of individual rasa, he has succeeded in illustrating finely rasas from the aesthetic point of view. Regarding the number of rasas, Paṇḍitarāja is faithful to the tradition and accordingly he accepts nine rasas of Bharata with Śānta. He does not recognise Bhakti as a separate rasa but includes in bhāva only. His obedience to the tradition, particularly to Bharata can be well imagined from his own statement that Bharata alone is guide in the recognition of a particular bhāva as a sthāyin or vyabhicārin (RG, p. 56). However, his treatment of rasas and bhāvas is illuminating and original. He approaches the problem with a scientific and analytical mind and analyses rasas and bhāvas from the aesthetic point of view. This must be regarded as one of his most notable contributions to the science of poetry in general and to the concept of rasa in particular.

His treatment of guṇa presents an interesting study in Sanskrit poetics. Though he is an original writer, sometimes he goes to controvert the views of new school of thought and supports the old critics. Thus the Dhvani theorists accepted guṇas as the properties of rasa and not as that of word and sense. They also reduced ten guṇas into three only — mādhurya, ojas and prasāda. Jagannātha, on the other hand, does not consider the guṇas as the properties of rasa. They are, to him, the properties of word, sense, rasa and composition as accepted by Daṇḍin, Vāmana and Bhoja.[5] He also introduces the Vedanta metaphysics in his conception of guṇa. According to the Advaitic conception of the soul, it is devoid of quality and similar is the case with rasa the soul of poetry. He establishes by his argument that the guṇas are the properties of śabda, artha, rasa and racanā in conformity with the views of the old poeticians. Dr. Raghavan[6] has held the view that Jagannātha, giving his modified view on guṇas accepts the view which makes guṇas only three in number. But to us, it appears that he shows his leaning towards the ten guṇas propounded by the ancients and

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accordingly offers his own definition which removes vagueness about their conception. He also improves upon them by making slight changes in their expositions. Thus in the history of Sanskrit poetics, Vāmana brought a marked change in the conception of guṇa over Daṇḍin and Paṇḍitarāja does the same or rather greater yeoman's service to this theory of guṇas by removing vagueness in Vāmana's discussion of this topic.

Jagannātha's treatment of alaṁkāras implies that he considered the concept as the essential element in poetry, though, of course, he does not explicitly declare it. He is the only critic among the later writers on poetics who upholds the function of alaṁkāras as supplements to the aesthetic beauty in poetry. In this respect, he makes a bold attempt to deviate from the stand-point of the Dhvani school of Ānandavardhana. With the emergence of dhvani-cum-rasa theory, the role of alaṁkāras as beautifying principle in poetry came to be neglected. Paṇḍitarāja establishes by his convincing argument that the arthālaṁkāras in poetry directly contribute to the aesthetic beauty by supplementing the suggestive function. His division of poetry into four varieties signifies that he accepts the alaṁakāras as an element which beautifies poetry and brings all alaṁkāra pradhāna kāvyas under the uttama and madhyama varieties. His important contribution to the theory is that he gives a lucid exposition of the concept of alaṁakāra and makes a specific attempt to emphasize that beauty or ramaṇīyatā is the underlying principle of all alaṁkāras and his conception of poetry is connected with this vital and universal principle.

Another special feature of his treatment of the concept of alaṁkāra is that he widens its scope to include some new alaṁkāras within the established alaṁkāras and he accepts paryāyokta and aprastutaprasāmsā as uttamottama kāvya. He also does not brand all those ornate expressions having samāsokti and some other alaṁkāras as guṇībhūta vyangya but includes them in uttamakāvya. His significant achievement with regard to the poetic figures of speech is that he gives only due importance to the ornate expression and assigns them only due place from the standpoint of beauty or charmingness conveyed by them.

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Through his doctrine of ramaṇiyatā underlying poetic figures he emphasises in definite terms that in aesthetic expression, the beauty of form and content forms a unity and this unity is the test of the appropriate use of figure of speech. Alaṁkāras, thus in Paṇḍitarāja's scheme are justified through the inward conception of expressional unity which controls the details and resides in a poetry as a whole.

Jagannātha's outstanding contribution to Indian Aesthetic is his fine exposition and interpretation of the individual figures too. He has succeeded in discussing and defining lucidly most of the poetic figures applying his critical acumen and scholarship both through employing the methods of navyanyāya dialectics. Another noteworthy feature in his treatment of alaṁkāra is that he has given a discussion on verbal cognition (śābdabodha) on some of the figures which further shows his dialectical acumen par excellence. To illustrate the individual figures of speech he has given his own examples and these illustrations are very expressive and indicate his clarity of conception. Without a minutely clear conception of the theory, it is not possible to give such uniquely precise and highly expressive illustrations.

Thus we see that Paṇḍitarāja's contribution to Indian Aesthetics is indeed varied and important. He makes a rich contribution to the study of poetics by giving a logical and metaphysical basis to the traditional concepts of poetics. He reviews the old problems from a new angle of vision and presents his own view in a precise argumentative and systematic way. He also examines the illustrations of the early writers and shows inconsistencies in the view expressed. In his own statement, Paṇḍitarāja is free from any kind of vagueness due to his inherent logical discipline in his modes of thinking, which is the result of his training in Nyāya Philosophy. He did not plant any new sapling but he turned the sapling of the past tradition into a full grown tree. In India, concept of originality does not demand a departure from the past traditions by devising a totally new standpoint, but the furtherance and the evolution of the past tradition to higher point of growth is accepted as a true mark of originality. In this sense, Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha is an

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original writer. He did exactly in poetics what was done by Śankara in the tradition of Vedanta Philosophy.

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